

JPRS-SEA-86-128

30 JULY 1986

Southeast Asia Report



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30 JULY 1986

SOUTHEAST ASIA REPORT

CONTENTS

MALAYSIA

MNRPM Chairman's 'Id Al-Fitr Greetings (Voice of Malayan Democracy, 9 Jun 86)	1
--	---

Briefs

Sarawak Declaration	4
Police Chief on Improved Situation	4

PHILIPPINES

Impact, Meaning of Failed Power Play Analyzed (Various sources, various dates)	5
Military Views, Loyalties Described, by Sheila S. Coronel	5
Pivotal Powerful Military Role Emerges, by Amando Doronila	6
Beltran Foresees Cabinet Casualties, by Luis D. Beltran	8
U.S. Position Criticized, by Danilo-Luis M. Mariano	9
Valencia Defends Tolentino, by Teodoro F. Valencia	10
Tatad Analysis of Impact, by Francisco S. Tatad	12
Editorial Warns Against Weakness	13
BUSINESS DAY Hits Amnesty, Ninez Cacho-Olivares	14
Government's Leniency Criticized, by Feliciano U. Magno	16
Need to Return to Constitutionalism, by Val Abelgas	17
Country's Stability Factors Viewed, Editorial	19
Express Views Lessons, Editorial	20
Editorial Warns Against Leniency	20
Tolentino's Statesmanship Dismissed, Editorial	21
INQUIRER Derides Coup as 'Hilarious Exercise', Editorial	22
BULLETIN Doubts Recurrence of Revolution, Editorial	23
No Duplication of Revolution Foreseen, Editorial	24
Aquino Coolness Praised, Editorial	25
Columnist Urges Aquino-Loyalists 'Showdown', by Ninez Cacho-Olivares	26

EXPRESS Blames Government, Editorial	28
Tatad Terms Coup 'Embarrassment', by Francisco S. Tatad	29
Faith in Government Tested, by Malou Mangahas	31
Valencia on Meaning, Media Coverage, by Teodoro F. Valencia	32
Reportage on Durano Comeback, NP Revitalization (SUN STAR DAILY, 15, 23 Jun 86)	34
UNIDO Figure Welcomes Durano Return	34
Durano Urges Unity Against Aquino	34
Early Collapse of Alayon Seen	35
Columnist Blames Government on Durano Return, by Godofredo M. Roperos	36
Cartoon Links NP, KBL	37
Reportage on Durano Wealth Probe Proposal, Firearms (SUN STAR DAILY, 22 Jun 86)	38
Wealth Probe Proposed, by Thea C. Rinen	38
PC Denies Guns Issued to Durano	39
Cartoons Lampoon Opposing Views on Security Assistance (BUSINESS DAY, 27 Jun 86; ANG PAHAYAGANG MALAYA, 27 Jun 86)	40
Aquino, Shultz Definitions, by Nonoy Marcelo	40
Funds, Guard Dog Satirized	41
Cebu City Columnist Criticizes Aquino Moves (Vicente S. Del Rosario; VISAYAN HERALD, 20 Jun 86)	42
Foreign Ministry Concern Over Shahani Faux Pas (Chit Estella; ANG PAHAYAGANG MALAYA, 27 Jun 86)	43
BUSINESS DAY Reports Enhanced RP Labor Image (Gethsemane M. Selirio; BUSINESS DAY, 27 Jun 86)	44
Bayan Forms Group in Toledo, Cebu (VISAYAN HERALD, 23 Jun 86)	45
NDF Group Belittles Impact of Balweg Splinter Group (Noel Bartolome; ANG PAHAYAGANG MALAYA, 27 Jun 86)	46

THAILAND

Prem Addresses Asia-Pacific Trade Conference (BANGKOK POST, 17 Jun 86)	47
Asia-Pacific Trade Conference Adopts Declaration (THE NATION, 19 Jun 86)	49

Delegate Scores Developed Countries 'Unfair Trade Practices'	
(BANGKOK POST, 19 Jun 86)	51
Prasong on UN Grant for Antipiracy Program	
(THE NATION, 19 Jun 86)	52
VOFA Views SRV Stance on Refugee Camp Shelling	
(Bangkok Voice of Free Asia, 19 Jun 86)	53
Israeli Scientists Providing Research Assistance	
(Sinfa; THE NATION, 23 Jun 86)	55
Paper Backs Philippines' Aquino Call for ASEAN Action	
(BANGKOK POST, 25 Jun 86)	57
NATION Article Examines Election Procedures	
(M. R. Sukhumphan Boriphat; THE NATION, 26 Jun 86)	59
Khukrit Leaves Hospital; To Retire From Politics	
(BANGKOK WORLD, 27 Jun 86)	62
Chawalit Curbing 'Overgrown' Security Command	
(THE NATION, 29 Jun 86)	64
Envoys Protest Government Plans To Reprice Drugs	
(BANGKOK WORLD, 18 Jun 86)	66
POST Reviews Developments in Phuket Tantalum Refinery	
(Wiwat Prathipchaikun; BANGKOK POST, 25 Jun 86)	67
Briefs	
Minister Quits Cabinet	70
Balance of Payments Up	70
Trade Accord With Bangladesh	70
Command Reports SRV Actions	71
Karen Refugees Flee	71
Coup Trial Adjourned	71
Eastern Development Plan Revision	71
Joint Malaysian Economic Committee	72

VIETNAM

MILITARY AFFAIRS AND PUBLIC SECURITY

Cadres, Party Members Urged To Reveal Deficiencies to Masses	
(Nguyen Ngoc, 'Dao Thu; QUAN DOI NHAN DAN, 29 May 86)	73
Improvement in Quality of Military Training in Colleges Urged	
(Editorial; QUAN DOI NHAN DAN, 30 May 86)	75

PARTY ACTIVITIES AND GOVERNMENT

Mai Chi Tho Gives Speech on International Labor Day (SAIGON GIAI PHONG, 1 May 86)	77
--	----

Organization Department Issues Guidelines on Implementing Resolution 42 (HAIPHONG, 4 Mar 86)	88
--	----

ECONOMIC PLANNING, TRADE, AND FINANCE

Decision Encouraging Private Production Discussed (Nguyen Kien Phuoc; DAI DOAN KET, 23 Apr 86)	96
---	----

AGRICULTURE

1986 Winter Crop Yields Top 1985 Winter Crop Yields in North (QUAN DOI NHAN DAN, 30 May 86)	102
--	-----

/7310

MALAYSIA

MNRPM CHAIRMAN'S 'ID AL-FITR GREETINGS

BK110630 (Clandestine) Voice of Malayan Democracy in Malay 1215 GMT 9 Jun 86

[9 June 'Id al-Fitr greetings from Abdullah C.D., chairman of the Malay Nationalist Revolutionary Party of Malaya Central Committee--read by announcer]

[Text] Peace be upon you! The sacred Ramadan fasting month has passed and the long awaited 1 Shawwal 1406 Hegira [9 June 1986] has arrived. On the occasion of the highly revered 'Id al-Fitr day, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Malay Nationalist Revolutionary Party of Malaya [MNRPM], I would like to extend my 'Id al-Fitr greetings to all Muslims, all MNRPM members, all fighters of the 10th Regiment, and all Muslim fighters in various units of the Malayan People's Army who are fighting against the enemy for the sake of the nation, religion, and fatherland.

On this happy 'Id al-Fitr day, let us forgive each other, forge our unity further without discriminating our ideologies, and leave aside our differences. This is the true objective of our fasting, which we just performed during Ramadan.

The year 1406 Hegira has an important meaning for us. Therefore, in greeting the 'Id al-Fitr day of this year, let us look back and ponder various important events taking place last year. Learning from the past will certainly help us understand things coming in the future and enable us to face them with poise, alertness, steadfastness, and wisdom.

Last year, the patriotic and democratic forces in the world continued to make significant progress. Economic crisis continued to ravage the capitalist world. Fascist dictators, including Haiti's Duvalier and Marcos from the Philippines, were overthrown. Backed by the patriotic and democratic forces in the Philippines, Mrs Corazon Aquino successfully ousted Marcos. In Latin America, the struggle against U.S. imperialism continued unabated. In Afghanistan, the Mujahideen fighters continued to deal heavy blows on the Soviet aggressors. In Cambodia, the patriotic and democratic Cambodian people inflicted heavy losses on the Vietnamese aggressors. The prestige of the socialist PRC continued to soar in the international community. In the Middle East, the Arab people, especially the Palestinians, continued to hit hard

at the Israeli Zionists. The Lebanese people are now consolidating their independence. In March and April, the Libyan people struck at the U.S. imperialists who violated their fatherland.

Now let us review various upheavals in our country last year. The patriotic and democratic forces of various nationalities and groups, especially the Malay people, grew at an unprecedented manner in the history of our country. They were willing to shed blood in their struggle against the oppression and tyranny of the Mahathir regime. Fourteen Muslims from Baling died a martyr's death defending Islamic laws tarnished by the Mahathir regime. The MNRPM rejoices at the emergence and growth of the patriotic and democratic forces, especially the Malay people.

The Mahathir clique is facing unsurmountable conflicts. While the Barisan Nasional coalition is seriously fragmented, the Malaysian Chinese Association, a component part in the coalition, continues to face internal conflicts, which worsened with the arrest of its president, Tan Koon Siwan, on charges of criminal breach of trust, which, if found guilty, carries a life sentence. The Barisan Nasional coalition suffered a humiliating defeat in the Sabah state legislative assembly election. The prestige of the Mahathir clique plummeted, making it difficult for the clique to win the soon-to-be-held general election.

The power struggle between the Mahathir and Musa Hitam cliques within the United Malays National Organization [UMNO] took place with intense ferocity, resulting in Musa Hitam resigning his cabinet post. The UMNO Supreme Council rejected Musa's reason for resigning his post, but continued to support him. To strengthen his position, Mahathir reshuffled his cabinet on 7 May and installed his confidants in important portfolios such as home affairs and education. Mahathir and his henchmen now hold an upper hand over their adversaries. However, this will not solve and instead will aggravate internal conflicts in the Barisan Nasional coalition government. The atmosphere on the eve of this year's 'Id al-Fitr was gloomier than previous years. According to official--but highly deflated--figures the unemployment level was registered at 448,000, or 7.6 percent of our country's total workforce last year, while the retrenchment of workers continues to take place. Our country's economic crisis is getting more serious. In 1985, our country's foreign debt reached a staggering 50 million ringgit. The debt repayment and interest were registered at 5,925,000,000 ringgit, amounting to 16 percent of the total export value. This means that the amount is getting nearer to the critical level of 20 percent as stipulated by official circles.

The price of primary commodity goods continues to fall sharply. This is undeniable proof that the so-called New Economic Policy has failed to eradicate the people's poverty. Even in Singapore, negative economic growth was registered last year.

In this critical situation when the general election is fast approaching, the UMNO also faces a leadership crisis. Both Mahathir and Musa Hitam are the most aggressive representatives of the comprador and bureaucratic capitalist class. Therefore, patriotic and democratic people, UMNO members in particular,

should not be misled by the Mahathir or Musa clique. To support either one of them can be likened to jumping from the frying pan into the fire.

It is an undeniable fact that there have been conflicts of interest between Mahathir and Musa from the very beginning. Outwardly they seemed to be united in the form of 2-M [Mahathir-Musa] alliance, but their rivalries have become more fierce with each passing day. A few obvious examples can be seen from the constitution amendment efforts to usurp the powers of the paramount ruler and state rulers, the Bank Malaysia Finance loan scandal, the problem of solving internal power struggle within the component parties of the Barisan Nasional, the Sabah issue, the bloody incidents at Lubuk Merbau and Kampung Memali in Baling, and other issues.

All these events show that both the Mahathir and Musa cliques are sitting under Damocles' sword. Therefore, on the occasion of this year's 'Id al-Fitr, let us all strengthen our brotherhood among Muslims, foster our united front to defeat the Barisan Nasional in the upcoming general election with a view to establishing a patriotic and democratic coalition government and ending the domestic civil war inherited from the British colonialists. Let us fight more resolutely against the implementation of all unjust and antipeople laws, especially the Internal Security Act, so that true democracy can exist. Let us also demand a clean and honest general election and prevent the Mahathir clique from provoking violence before, during, and after the election. Lastly, let us all greet the new situation and implement the MNRPM Manifesto for the sake of the nation, religion, and fatherland as well as defend the constitutional monarchy. God is the source of divine strength and guidance.

[Signed] Abdullah C.D., MNRPM chairman

[Dated] 1 Shawwal 1406 Hegira

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CSO: 4213/160

MALAYSIA

BRIEFS

SARAWAK DECLARATION--Sarawak's first and second divisions have been declared white areas following the elimination of the communist terrorist threat. Chief Minister Datuk Patinggi Haji Abdul Taib Mahmud announced this in Kuching today. He said 19 communist terrorist remnants in the two divisions had been captured by Indonesian Armed Forces in February, April, and May this year. Datuk Patinggi Haji Abdul Taib, who is also the state director of operations, said with the capture, the so-called North Kalimantan First Communist Party bureau has been wiped out. [Text] [Kuala Lumpur Domestic Service in Malay 1230 GMT 13 Jun 86 BK] /6662

POLICE CHIEF ON IMPROVED SITUATION--Pengkalan Chepa--Inspector General of Police Tan Sri Haniff Omar said that five communist terrorists surrendered while seven others were killed by security forces last month in peninsula Malaysia. However, he said that the general situation has improved, with about 200 communist terrorists operating in peninsular Malaysia and about 40 in Sarawak. He said that currently the first and second divisions of Sarawak State are free from communist threat. It was estimated that about 700 communists were operating in those divisions in 1970. He said the communist remnants in Peninsular Malaysia are in Perak, Pahang, and the Kelantan-Perak border. Speaking to newsmen before leaving for Kuala Lumpur at the Sultan Ismail Putera Airport yesterday, Tan Sri Haniff said a number of the remnants had retreated, except for those in west Pahang region. According to him, about 96 communist terrorists are still active in west Pahang. However, he said the communists are facing pressure from the security forces, who are constantly increasing their efforts to track them down. He said that within the past 2 months, 28 asphalt drums containing rice were seized in Peninsular Malaysia as well as other food supplies such as flour, salt, sugar, and peanuts. [Text] [Kuala Lumpur BERITA HARIAN in Malay 18 Jun 86 p 1 BK] /6662

CSO: 4213/160

PHILIPPINES

IMPACT, MEANING OF FAILED POWER PLAY ANALYZED

Military Views, Loyalties Described

HK110724 Manila THE MANILA CHRONICLE in English 10 Jul 86 p 4

["Inside Out" column by Sheila S. Coronel: "Drawing the Lines of Battle Between Civility and Law"]

[Text] The smoke of battle has cleared. The site of battle, the historic Manila Hotel, is being restored to its former elegance and stateliness. And military officers claim that the battle lines are now clearly drawn: the loyalists are not the enemy, the communists are, although not one Red was found in that noisy, but really febrile, attempt at a takeover.

Colonel Gregorio Honasan, a leading reformist officer closely identified with Minister Enrile, believes that the loyalist soldier is just a confused man, befuddled by the present government's insurgency policy and its lack of projection of an authoritative commander-in-chief.

"To the loyalist soldiers, the rallying points should be, in descending order: The president, Minister Enrile and General Ramos," Honasan says. "The president is seen almost like God, and since they have not heard anything from God but have been hearing a lot from Enrile and Ramos, can loyalists be blamed for identifying with them?"

It would seem that the military's handling of the Manila Hotel incident only enhances this confusion. Enrile having been projected as a strong rallying figure, loyalists soldiers reaffirmed their allegiance to him and Ramos, but significantly, not to president Aquino.

At the embattled Manila Hotel, journalists asked the loyalists soldiers who their commander-in-chief is. None of them could answer. Isn't it about time President Aquino told them?

The notorious Colonel Rolando Abadilla, whose name still makes former political prisoners quake, is believed to have been at the core of military operations during the loyalists holdout. It was he, in fact, who faced "Gringo" Honasan and other officers in the second phase of negotiations for the loyalists' withdrawal from Manila Hotel.

"You should have seen the face of Abadilla when he was leaving the hotel," recounts Lieutenant Colonel Red Kapunan, who heads the Defense Ministry's intelligence group. "There he was, a desperate senior officer trying to make sense of what had happened. I saw him then not as a human rights violator but as a brother officer."

Such compassion for a man like Abadilla contrasts with these officers' bitterness toward certain Cabinet ministers who, they said, "are not comfortable" with Enrile and whom they blame for sowing disinformation about the defense minister.

"Why don't we get support from people whose balls we are really protecting?" asks Honasan. "If the February revolution did not involve the military, do they think Marcos would care if nobody bought beer or shopped at Rustan's?"

These are strong words. And could it be that Honasan says them so confidently now that the military has emerged from the Manila Hotel holdout as a more solid organization, its ranks bolstered by the likes of the Abadillas and the Echeverrias, all swearing their loyalty to Enrile?

Abadilla and his fellow renegades may escape prosecution for taking over Manila Hotel but there remain pending charges against them in the AFP's [Armed Forces of the Philippines] Anti-Graft Board. Abadilla, too, would likely have to face numerous charges before Jose Diokno's Human Rights Committee.

Brigadier General Jaime Echeverria, former commander of Region 12, was in fact among the first called by the Anti-Graft Board. The other generals, and many of the other officers involved in the holdout, also face charges. In fact, some military officers believe that these charges are one reason why the loyalist soldiers took the drastic move last Sunday. Hopefully, they would not be immune from these charges as well.

The military used some of the tactics of February to win over the loyalist soldiers to their side. For example, three of Brigadier General Jose Ma Zumel's classmates--Brigadier General Hermogenes Peralta, Colonel Antonio Samonte and Colonel Festin--were sent to negotiate with him. All of them belong to the Philippine Military Academy's class of 1959.

Brigadier General Antonio Palafox's three children were also shown on TV, beseeching their father to abandon the loyalist cause.

Pivotal Powerful Military Role Emerges

HK110756 Manila THE MANILA CHRONICLE in English 10 Jul 86 p 4

["Analysis" column by Amando Doronila: "Military Now a Pivotal Power Broker"]

[Text] The failed counter-revolution by Arturo Tolentino confirms the pivotal role of the military as a power broker in Philippine politics. That role emerged in the February military rebellion which led to the overthrow of the Marcos regime. This has important implications for the survival of the government of President Aquino, as well as of democracy in this country.

What the military demonstrated in both the February events and in the Manila Hotel seizure is that it can unseat or seat governments and that the loyalty of the present leadership of the defense establishment to the Aquino Government must not be taken for granted.

It may well be that Philippine politics has entered the cycle of coups and counter-coups in which the military, rather than the electoral process is the chief determinant of political change. This is the pattern of change in Indonesia and Thailand--where the armed forces are the main arbiter of politics--as well as in much of the Third World. We may be a latecomer to the coup club, but we must recognize that we are there.

It is obvious, at first glance, that the immediate loser in the Manila Hotel fiasco is Tolentino and the beneficiary is Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile, who now appears as the savior after deciding to back the Aquino Government at a moment of peril. But this is a very narrow and personalistic perspective of viewing last Sunday's putsch.

Seen in a more fundamental context, the collapse of the putsch signalled the shift of the balance of power away from civilian authority in favor of the military. And this shift has happened at a crucial time--when the government is trying to establish its constitutional foundation, hence its legitimacy.

The putsch exposed the weakness of the political center and its vulnerability to power grabs. In the February rebellion, the military intervened to help install the coalition led by Mrs Aquino. In the Manila Hotel incident, it intervened to save it from the Tolentino rebellion, which was backed by dissident troops.

It is significant that Tolentino expected military intervention to ensure the success [words indistinct]. Mrs Aquino and Tolentino were dependent on the same people--Enrile and the chief of staff, General Ridel Ramos--for success, thus making the military leadership the decisive arbiter of political change.

Indeed, the Aquino Government, during the critical hours of the putsch, was virtually held to ransom by the military. It was not until Enrile and Ramos publicly gave support to the Government that the rebellion began to crumble. It is reasonable to ask what the position of Enrile would have been if the rebellion was able to mobilize millions of people behind it.

Fortunately for the Aquino Government, there was no manifestation of popular support, and that possibly made it easier for Enrile to back the government. But under our constitutional tradition, the loyalty of the military to its commander-in-chief is automatic and when the state is challenged by rebellion, it is incumbent for the military to defend the state and its leader.

In this sense, the military leadership is doing a constitutional duty and should not be seen as being a saviour--which is the way it is being presented after the Manila Hotel raid.

The assurance by the military leadership that the dissident generals and troops who surrendered would not be punished underlines the autonomy that the military now exercises in relation to civilian authority.

The immunity given the troops virtually places them beyond the reach of punitive action and makes the Aquino Government a helpless hostage of the military. The Manila Hotel seizure was a clear challenge to the government. And yet, the defense minister said after the collapse of the rebellion, "Everything is okay, as if nothing happened."

The possible consequence of taking lightly any armed challenge to the government is that this undermines the central authority and it invites further rebellion. There are several endemic pockets of rebellion already—including those of warlords like Ali Dimaporo. The conditional support of the defense establishment for the government that is clearly beleaguered by political turbulence gives the military ample room to enhance its political brokerage role. It opens them to courtship from all sides.

Beltran Foresees Cabinet Casualties

HK110851 Manila PHILIPPINE DAILY INQUIRER in English 9 Jul 86 p 4

[From the "Straight From the Shoulder" column by Luis D. Beltran: "Loyalists Give Aquino Stability"]

[Excerpt] The responses of the top officials of the administration to the mini-revolt at the Manila Hotel should be most instructive to the public.

President Aquino's response upon returning from Cagayan de Oro was to charge the loyalists with sedition and to attack the Manila Hotel. New AFP [Armed Forces of the Philippines] Chief of Staff General Fidel Ramos wanted to court-martial the soldiers involved and to arrest the civilian loyalists. Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile issued a statement that no retaliation would be made against the soldiers even if he had to stake his personal reputation and honor on the matter.

It should be interesting to find out by Friday which view will prevail.

Incidentally, the loyalists don't know how lucky they are in deciding to dissolve their mini-revolution. The military plans mapped out by General Ramos were in three stages and were implemented for the 1st and 2d day. The first day was to secure the area by instituting a cordon of NAFF [New Armed Forces of the Philippines] troopers. The 2nd day was to bombard the loyalists soldiers with psychological warfare—which included putting the children of the officers on TV to beseech their fathers to surrender. The 3d day was the Assault Day. The plan was to put tear gas into the air-conditioning ducts and knock out everybody, followed by a lighting assault by SWAT teams. Fortunately, the loyalists dispersed before the 3d day plan could take effect.

What did the loyalists accomplish with their seizure of the Manila Hotel? According to the management, loyalists cut up the carpets or burned them with

cigarettes, some opened safe deposit boxes and lockers, others cut off telephone cords, etc. A lot of silverware and linens were also lost, doors were smashed and rooms broken into. Total cost: P12.5 million. That's the money of government employees--since the GSIS [Government Service Insurance System] owns the Manila Hotel.

The loss to tourism is, of course, incalculable. At the time the loyalists broke in, there were 100 travel agents billeted in the Manila Hotel. Another 100 were expected the following day for an ongoing tourism conference. Guess what those badly-scared people are going to tell tourists coming from their countries.

One possible casualty of this event could be Executive Secretary Joker Arroya, and possible, presidential spokesman Rene Saguisag. Both have been the target of media attacks by military groups for being alleged leftists or alleged communist sympathizers. The loyalist mini-revolt has reinforced the hand of those wanting the two eased out of the cabinet. They are already saying that as long as Arroyo and Saguisag are there in the cabinet, the administration's relations with the military will not improve. Prospective replacements for the two are already being quietly contacted and sounded out.

One other casualty is a ranking officer in Camp Olivas handling the Regional Unified Command. The 300 soldiers who joined the loyalists said they were angry because of the policies of this official. Unfortunately, replacing the official will not be easy--he is the recommendee of a relative of the president.

One of the major accomplishments of the loyalists seems to be to demonstrate that the new armed forces is in complete support of President Aquino. If that perception seeps in, then the loyalists will have given political stability to Aquino's Government without meaning to. Of course, there are those who will say that the New AFP demonstrated its support for Defense Minister Enrile, who in turn demonstrated his support for President Aquino. Whatever it is, the fact is that Enrile did support Aquino by his actions. There are also those who say that Enrile was helped by the loyalists, since, in the absence of President Aquino and General Ramos, he was able to single-handedly react to the situation--the inference being, that if he chooses to do otherwise in the future, he has demonstrated his capability for doing so. The hidden equation, of course, is whether the Filipino people would allow even Enrile and a communist threat, to oust Aquino.

U.S. Position Criticized

HK110843 Manila PHILIPPINE DAILY INQUIRER in English 9 Jul 86 p 4

["Opinion" column by Danilo-Luis M. Mariano: "Special Treatment for Loyalists"]

[Text] An official spokesman of the United States Government yesterday gave the Aquino administration high marks for its handling of the mini-crisis instigated by Ex-Senator Arturo Tolentino and other Marcos supporters when they

30 July 1986

occupied the Manila Hotel. The Americans were particularly pleased that the Philippine Government withheld the use of force despite the fact that several hundred armed men--equipped with assault rifles, machine pistols and grenade launchers--had joined the loyalists in blatant contempt of the authority of the Aquino administration and in an open challenge of our laws.

Still, the president, Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile, AFP [Armed Forces of the Philippines] Chief General Fidel Ramos and other advisers of Ms Aquino chose to treat the matter as if the loyalist challenge were nothing more than the puerile tantrums of impetuous hoods who have the mental and emotional age of adolescents. In that assessment, the Aquino administration was probably correct.

The fact, however, is that the loyalists caused considerable damage. The Manila Hotel is a total mess. The loyalists ganged up and injured a radio news crew and wrecked their pickup. They commandeered--and in the process, destroyed--several buses which they used to barricade the streets leading to the hotel. As they walked out of their "fortress" Tuesday morning, the disgraced loyalists even vented their frustrations on a number of onlookers whom they claimed were "Cory people." And the government simply watched... and let them walk away. Perhaps to disrupt our lives again on some other Sunday.

Contract this with the pummeling the police gave the leftist militants last Friday (4 July) who gathered in front of the U.S. embassy to protest Yankee interventionism. The government then was not inclined to issue appeals of brotherhood and reconciliation, neither was it in the mood to hold back its riot troops. And what was the crime of the leftists--who carried none of the high-powered weapons the loyalists had? According to Mr Law and Order himself, General Alfredo Lim, they were blocking both lanes of Roxas Boulevard--a mere traffic violation. And for that they deserved to be dispersed with truncheons, tear guns and guns?

What did the loyalists ever do to deserve such special treatment?

Valencia Defends Tolentino

HK110853 Manila THE NEW PHILIPPINES DAILY EXPRESS in English 10 Jul 86 p 4

[From the "Over a Cup of Coffee" Column by Teodoro F. Valencia: "Right Now, JPE Is 'In'"]

[Excerpts] There will be no charges against the AFP [Armed Forces of the Philippines] officers and men who joined the Tolentino-led rebellion. If they had not joined Tolentino, there would have been bloodshed. Their presence stopped the government troops long enough for them to think of some peaceful way to resolve the issue. And that did it--a second "revolution" without bloodshed.

What is unforgivable is the way the thousands who joined Tolentino ruined the carpets, the doors and the furniture of the Manila Hotel. Being located across

the street from Rizal Park was an address Manila Hotel used to be proud of, but now its location will stop anyone from wanting to buy the hotel. Perhaps the GSIS [Government Service Insurance System] is lucky that way--nobody will buy the hotel and risk another Tolentino affair.

There was no excuse for keeping the Malacanang newsmen out in the rain for 2 hours while waiting for a cabinet meeting to end. This has never happened here before. Accredited Malacanang newsmen always rated the same concern on the part of presidential security that cabinet members did. Now, newsmen are just as unimportant as the curious onlookers ogling the great, the near-great, and those who think they are great.

If you had tried to call Manila Hotel during the 2 nights that the Tolentino group was there, the operator (if any) answered, "Loyalist Headquarters, Manila Hotel." You asked for the room number and it turned out there was no operator. The man who answered you just sat at the operators' booth but did not know how to operate the switchboard.

All of a sudden, Juan Ponce Enrile, whom most every other high government official was treating like an unwanted hanger-on, is the man of the hour. His loyalty meant the "big difference" for President Aquino and for those who were looking down or askance at him. Such is life.

The trouble with many high government people installed into power by President Aquino is that they are all trying to ingratiate themselves to her as a better hater of Marcos cronies, friends and those who were able to shake the Marcos hand at sometime in the past. In the process, they have succeeded in making the administration hateful. Fortunately, only the helpless rich and those who want the good life are the victims. They can take humiliation but they can organize and create trouble. [sentence as received]

Let's not kid ourselves. That Tolentino-led action was no laughing matter. Nothing of that kind happened within the first 10 years of Marcos but it happened in just 5 months after the Aquino Government was in place. It can happen again if the present mood continues and the government people can make people lose hope that things might really change to give way to reconciliation. The Tolentino action lacked planning and organization. The mood was there but "hindi pa hinog ay kinain na [it was not ripe].

There is no logic in the charge that President Marcos inspired the Tolentino-led affair. If Marcos were behind that, what did he have to gain? Some of the people appointed by Tolentino to his cabinet were the people who did not like Marcos because he refused to appoint them to his cabinet. Tolentino is not the type that will take orders from former President Marcos. Whatever he did, he did because he thought it was the thing to do, not what Mr Marcos wanted. Tolentino never did what Marcos told him to do. Marcos, most of the time, did what Tolentino wanted. Or are you one who refuses to remember history?

Three radio stations were stopped from broadcasting during the Manila Hotel affair. The excuse was to prevent the loyalists from taking them over.

Meantime, the radio stations broadcasting partisan news and views favorable to the government kept on broadcasting. That was not suppression of the freedom to broadcast? They have to redefine freedom for me.

Tatad Analysis of Impact

HK101538 Quezon City BUSINESS DAY in English 10 Jul 86 p 4

["Here and Now" column by Francisco S. Tatad: "Using the Failed Coup"]

[Text] Former President Marcos disclaims any involvement in the Manila Hotel incident that ended in the humiliation of Arturo Tolentino and the loyalist cause. Tolentino seems to support the denial; not everything that happens here, he says, should be linked to Marcos--"People have their own sentiments."

Many will dispute that. They will point to Marcos' published communication "authorizing" Tolentino to take over the government in his absence as proof of his involvement. They will cite the reported telephone conversation between him and the rebels at the height of the failed coup as further proof of it. It is then perhaps all to the good that the U.S. government, which harbors Marcos as its guest in Hawaii, has decided to investigate.

Whether or not Marcos had any hand in the incident, however, is something we can leave aside for the moment. The fact that he was so quick to disassociate himself from the failed coup seems to show that in his own assessment the loyalists movement is now a spent force, and deserves to be disowned.

Even Tolentino, despite the earlier quote, seems to be having trouble owning complete responsibility for the attempted power grab. As the rebellion finally crumbled, one expected him to sink with the ship, as it were, to own up and say he had taken his oath hoping to effectively wield political power, except that he had badly miscalculated on the military factor.

But he was quick to deny intent. He had taken the oath, he said, not to confront the government which he would have replaced, but solely to force an early presidential election, and a return to constitutional government. He wanted to assure the government he had attempted to replace that he had not committed a crime, only a mistake.

Former MP Manuel Collantes, who had one brief shining moment as Tolentino's "acting foreign minister," seems to have done better than the "acting president." He had at least the self-irony to laugh at himself for having been suckered into the incident.

As Mrs Collantes narrates it, he was golfing Sunday and they were set to go to the golf course when he unexpectedly announced, "I'm not playing any golf today, I'm going off to the revolution!" And before she could say anything, he was off to join Tolentino at the Manila Hotel. But as Collantes himself puts it, "For me, the revolution ended, as soon as the room service at the hotel stopped."

Some foreign analysts have advanced the view that with this incident, the country has inched its way to the status of countries like Thailand, where coups do happen every once so often without disrupting too much and for too long the normal rhythm of life of the population.

They think, as THE ASIAN WALL STREET JOURNAL reports it, that it signals a new era in which "ambitious politicians court the military in the hope of forming a junta more powerful than the one that foundered Monday." While taking note of the "exemplary" behavior of Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile, they think the whole thing underscores only too well President Aquino's dependence on the military.

I think that a less simplistic view will show that given the circumstances surrounding Mrs Aquino's ascent to power, it was entirely expected that the loyalist forces would ultimately attempt a grab, but that its success would depend on the support of the man in the street and the military.

Confronted with an armed challenge, the president had to call on the legal armed force of the state, which is the military. But that the military responded the way they did shows not their having emerged as an "independent power," but rather their full allegiance to duly constituted authority. Except for a handful, none of them was willing to be used as part of somebody's private army.

If the events of February had politicized their ranks, politicization has made them only too keenly aware that no government or group can hope to govern the nation without a popular constituency. It will not survive the people's hostility. This is why in the first hours after the coup, while Enrile met the military top brass at Camp Aguinaldo, the first statement from Major General Eduardo Ermita was that the armed forces would stand "with the people" at all costs. Their subsequent action showed it was no doublespeak or gobblegook.

The failed coup, in my view, not only finished off the loyalists, but also supplied the president an unprecedented opportunity to finally consolidate her base and cement further her political and personal bonds with the military. It is now for her to exploit that opportunity contrary to what some foreign analysts have said. I believe she is more secure today than she was before the inept coup, and that she can now begin to govern with greater self-confidence and stability.

Editorial Warns Against Weakness

HK110102 Manila THE NEW HERALD in English 10 Jul 86 p 4

[Editorial: "Tolentino Putsch No Laughing Matter"]

[Text] Even at its height the Tolentino putsch was not convincing enough to visibly rattle the administration.

"We are treating it as a joke," Executive Secretary Joker Arroyo said, seriously.

Press comments on the affair shared that view. Most called it a "comic opera" with Tolentino at center stage essaying the role of a Pagliacci.

But the grand show at historic Manila Hotel, which is no stranger to newsmaking events, is really no laughing matter.

The administration cannot just dismiss it as a madman's caper, not anything to lose sleep over. It tells the government plenty, that it must take stock of itself, avoid complacency and smugness, examine where it is weak, find out if or where it has gone wrong to get back on the right track if it has strayed, and acquire greater strength to be formidable against any contingency or open challenge to its legitimacy and authority.

The coup failed because it did not have the support, both military and civilian, necessary for the success of such an undertaking. But next time it may be a different story if this dispensation allows itself to grow careless and cocky, to lose touch with the people—in other words, to be passe too early.

Next time is not too remote to be impossible.

BUSINESS DAY Hits Amnesty

HK110242 Quezon City BUSINESS DAY in English 10 Jul 86 p 4

["My Cup of Tea" column by Ninez Cacho-Olivares: "Wake Up, Mrs Aquino"]

[Text] Fully armed generals, colonels and enlisted men made a decision to openly defy the Aquino government and to support the Marcos loyalists and the Tolentino government. They rebelled against their commander-in-chief, staged a coup, but were unsuccessful in their bid to wrest political power.

But this brazen military action, this mutiny, this rebellion, this seditious act was promptly forgiven by the Aquino government and the military hierarchy.

Juan Ponce Enrile, Tolentino's and Aquino's defense minister, reportedly said, "We are not going to humiliate you, punish or embarrass any of you." And he added, "there is no discrimination against you. We shall consider the whole thing as past" so that there will be no divisions in the military.

General Fidel Ramos, AFP [Armed Forces of the Philippines] chief of staff, took the same tack: He reportedly welcomed the coup plotters and declared to all and sundry that they are not liable for any crime against the republic and the armed forces.

Corazon Aquino, whose authority was challenged by the Marcos loyalists soldiers, said, "My supporters want me to show firmness and to arrest people like these who fight me. But my feeling is that I should not go after followers but should look after the motive of the leaders."

Mrs Aquino, president and commander-in-chief, Juan Ponce Enrile, defense minister and Fidel Ramos, chief of staff are a complete disappointment to many revolutionaries who risked life and limb at the EDSA [Epifanio de los Santos Avenue] and who now feel betrayed.

The way it all turned out, the biggest loser in this aborted rebellion were neither the Marcos loyalists and the rebel soldiers nor Enrile or Fidel Ramos. The biggest loser is Corazon Aquino.

Because of the soft-glove treatment from Aquino, Enrile and Ramos, her authority can not be questioned with impunity. Any group within the armed forces or even any other force outside it, as long as it espouses an anti-communist line, is free to mount a rebellion or a revolt and, if it meets with failure, all the vanquished group leaders have to do is to wait for the victor to negotiate with them and, without any punishment awaiting them, be embraced by the government with open arms. The government apparently cannot afford to inflict any punishment on soldiers who have clearly committed a crime against the republic and the armed forces.

As Colonel Gringo Honasan, Enrile's security chief says, "How do we assault a group that advocates anti-communism? And when they said they were fighting for Enrile and Ramos, how could we attack them?"

Doesn't this mean that any anti-communist group that denounces Mrs Aquino as a communist coddler and goes against her authority, then proceeds to stage a coup should not be assaulted by the military since the group is also fighting for Enrile and Ramos? This is dangerous talk from AFP soldiers.

But are the loyalist officers ready to recognize Aquino as their commander-in-chief? They could have said "yes," but as one officer replied, "we will leave that decision to Enrile and Ramos."

Perhaps Zumel et al don't think it important at all. As he reportedly said, he and the other officers went into this rebellious act because they wanted to "unite the armed forces." Prospero Olivas, Palafox and Echeverria claimed they joined the loyalists to "help check the insurgency problem." It certainly follows the Enrile line.

Enrile earlier told an audience that the loyalists coup should not distract Filipinos from the "more important problem of insurgency." He charged that communists were taking advantage of "government's reconciliation policy" and "the atmosphere of liberalism prevailing in the land" to destabilize the government."

Hogwash. It is the Zumels, the Echeverrias, the Palafoxes, the Olivases, the Abadillas, the Rectos and the Tolentinos who have been taking full advantage of the atmosphere of liberalism and the government's reconciliation policy. And it is this no-punitive action against the coup plotters, loyalists and so-called anti-communists that will eventually effectively destabilize the Aquino government.

Enrile, Ramos, the reformists and the loyalist soldiers keep on talking about the threat of the communists destabilizing the Aquino government and taking over political power. There is a threat, yes. But Enrile and his anti-communist "league" know that there is no way the communists can wage a revolution within the next 3 to 5 years. The threat of AFP soldiers rallying behind an

Enrile and Ramos military government is more immediate and real. Notice how a RUC [Regional Unified Command] 3 command reacts to the information that Enrile and Ramos had gone over to the loyalist side. Soldiers were ready to drop Aquino. Who is their commander-in-chief? Aquino or Enrile and Ramos? Which government do soldiers recognize? Any government which Ramos and Enrile join?

Notice too, that in all these, Ramos and Enrile have been painted as "strong leaders," and Mrs Aquino, a weak, vacillating and ineffectual leader. Notice also where the so-called reformists loyalty lies, and the same line both reformists and loyalists are mouthing. They are behind a common enemy--the communists.

Having found a "common enemy," a future coup staged by the military can serve to unite the AFP. We may yet see a military government in this country.

And with, the strengthening of the forces of the extreme left, a bloody revolution can come down on the nation.

Mrs Aquino should wake up to realities. And soon.

Government's Leniency Criticized

HK110100 Manila THE NEWS HERALD in English 10 Jul 86 p 4

["In the News" column by Feliciano U. Magno: "Give Law Due Course in FM Loyalists' Cause"]

[Excerpts] Everything is being said about the bumbled Marcos loyalists' attempt at a coup except the weakness in the government's intelligence network, specially the part held by the military which prevented the Aquino administration from getting even just a small whiff of the plot. Such ineptness is unforgivable.

The public expects the law to be given due course in the case of those behind the failed putsch, particularly the plotters and implementors. People also expect no temporizing or foot-dragging in this singular instance which puts to the test one of Malacanang's incessant avowals-bringing back rule of law to the land.

The luckiest bunch of loyalists in the failed coup are those generals, lesser officers and plain soldiers. For betraying their government, all they got for "punishment" was to do pushups at the AFP [Armed Forces of the Philippines] gym. Some of the generals involved were even allowed to assail the public, through mass media with such garbage as being "apolitical" and being there because they wanted to prevent "a communist takeover" of the government, the latter tantamount to labelling the president a "pinko," "fellow-traveller," etc.

Before the renegades further swagger about their participation in the attempt to overthrow the government, someone should remind them that in at least two countries in Southeast Asia, people like them are put before firing squads in less than 24 hours after arrest.

It is time for the Aquino government to give clear definitions to its "reconciliation with justice" and "maximum tolerance" stances since both are now being perceived by the public as additional indications of the administration's lack of precise directions and even of selective and not equal application of the laws.

In the case of those opposed to the administration, specially the rip-off artists of the toppled regime, the two stances are virtual invitations to do their worst in forcing a return of the days when any and all kinds of scams or looting of the people are the norm.

Public perception of the looting perpetrated on the country by the Marcos regime has been further widened by what the loyalists did to the Manila Hotel during their 35-hour takeover of such playground of the few rich.

As detailed by the hotel management after an assessment, collapse of the loyalists' coup attempt was the only thing which prevented them from completely dismantling the plush watering hole as demonstrated by their ripping off items that were nailed or riveted on walls of concrete.

Hotel officials say they will bill the loyalist leaders for the damages. The question is whether they can collect since during heyday of the toppled dictatorship, the standard practice was to make the public pay for any and all excesses of those in power.

As expected, ex-Senator Arturo M. Tolentino is now being made the goat of the loyalists' debacle. Among those alleging that he come up with his "acting president" act because of "second childhood" are people who do not necessarily belong to the Cory group. Some of his detractors have faces similar to the ones photographed with him while performing his "historic" act.

But what saddens true-blue fans of Turning the most is a persistent suspicion that their idol was used in a lame-brain political scheme which he failed to spot on time.

The participation of Marcos loyalist soliders in the 6 July revolt made the public aware of a group in the military which calls its members "Guradians." The group is said to be led by officers who are integrees or non-graduates of the Philippine Military Academy as members of the RAM [Reform the Armed Forces Movement] are, thereby demonstrating the existence of rival groups in the ranks.

Friendly group rivalry is healthy in any organization but fatal when the main motivation springs from partisan politics with the ultimate aim of taking power. It should not be forgotten that the armed forces were thoroughly politicalized by the former regime.

Need to Return to Constitutionalism

HK110459 Manila THE NEW PHILIPPINES DAILY EXPRESS in English 10 Jul 86 pp 4, 5

["As We See It" column by Val Abelgas: "A Frightening Pattern"]

[Text] If there was anything that stood out in the 40-hour Manila Hotel incident, it was the fact that this government will weather even the worst crisis as long as the country's three most influential figures would continue to work together as a team. Conversely, at least for the next several months, the present government can only last for as long as the three--President Aquino, Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile and AFP [Armed Forces of the Philippines] Chief General Fidel V. Ramos--can keep their coalition intact.

There is no denying that during those critical hours of the short-lived Manila Hotel "rebellion," Enrile could have changed the course of this country's destiny by throwing his support to the group of former MPA Arturo M. Tolentino. The loyalists had, in fact, hoped that Enrile would support their action considering recent events which tended to alienate the defense minister from the Aquino administration. Reports filtering out of the Manila Hotel indicated an unusual optimism on the part of the loyalists that Enrile would indeed join them. But Enrile, wised up by the February experience, knew better than that. The support never came.

As soon as Enrile went on the air to take the lead in quelling the "revolt," everybody knew it was over. Enrile was the key factor that determined whether this government or the Tolentino "government" would prevail. And it is evident that he and General Ramos shall continue to be the major factor in the success or fall of this government.

What is frightening about the Manila Hotel incident is that it tended to confirm the fear expressed by many that the February revolution has established a pattern of seizing power through illegitimate means. Such an atmosphere would give under importance to the role of the military, rather than the people, in the determination of who would hold the reins of government. The government would then have to depend more and more on the military for its continued existence. Without actually taking over the reins of government, the military would be able to strongly influence the civilian government to the extent it did during the early years of martial law. Can the hoped-for true democracy thrive in such a setup?

For all their faults, the loyalists drove home their point that there is now an urgent need to return to constitutionalism, democracy and the rule of law. The "rebellion" could not have happened at all if the Aquino government had listened to appeals to legitimize itself through democratic means. Until a new constitution acceptable to the people is enforced to replace Mrs Aquino's "Freedom Constitution" and until a credible and honest election is held to give the government and its officials the people's mandate, another Tolentino will emerge to challenge its legitimacy.

Another thing that stood out in the incident was the coolness and confidence with which the government and the military handled the situation. Mrs Aquino certainly deserves the admiration and respect of all Filipinos with the way she displayed coolness and presence of mind under such a difficult situation. This woman is sure made of sterner stuff. Enrile and Ramos also displayed great leadership qualities in quelling the "rebellion" without a single shot being fired and in winning back the loyalty and respect of the military men who participated in the "rebellion."

If the government had only shown the same reconciliatory attitude during its first few months in power, maybe the Manila Hotel incident would not have happened. But instead of reconciliation, the government, particularly through the Presidential Commission on Good Government and the Ministry of Local Government, sowed hatred and sought to alienate the people who had worked for or murdered the deposed Marcos regime. Instead of trying to win the cooperation and support of these people, the government only pushed them to the wall to the point that they had to fight back for self-preservation.

Take the case of the coconut farmers. Instead of trying to win them to its cause, the PCGG chose to clash with them by even freezing the assets of their federation, the Cocofed, and threatening to sequester it. Instead of convincing protesters, the PCGG threatens them with sequestration. Is this the kind of reconciliation the government hopes to implement? We sincerely hope the government has learned a lesson or two from the way Enrile and Ramos won back the hearts and minds of the military mutineers.

Country's Stability Factors Viewed

HK100620 Manila MANILA BULLETIN in English 9 Jul 86 p 6

[Editorial: "An Argument for Stability"]

[Text] One of those generals at the Manila Hotel was heard saying on television Monday that if his group were beaten similarly minded groups in various parts would spring up to carry the cause. That is easier said than done, and our best argument is experience.

This is a country that is hard to destabilize. The current communist insurgency movement started its campaign of destabilization in the late sixties but until now it has not succeeded in attaining its goal. The movement could have succeeded in the seventies because the great majority of the population was against martial law. While it is true that the administration ruled with the assistance of the Armed Forces, the morale of the soldiers was low. Consider that even the allowances and the hazardous-duty pay of the soldiers were being stolen!

On top of that came the MNLF rising in the slaughter and large swaths of territory became no-man's-land.

In the mid-seventies, when that rising peaked, the country was enjoying the bonanza brought by high commodity prices, especially coconut prices, and big groups of Filipino workers were being drawn to the construction projects of the Middle East.

A degree of instability set in shortly after the killing of Ninoy Aquino, when the worldwide recession had set in and the country was caught with a heavy foreign debt. Dissatisfaction gnawed at the vitals of the Marcos regime. But it was the character of the administration, not the acts of groups of citizens, such as the outlaws or other disgruntled sections of the society, that destabilized the administration (but not the country).

Express Views Lessons

HK091558 Manila THE NEW PHILIPPINES DAILY EXPRESS in English 9 Jul 86 p 4

[Editorial: "Lessons From Sunday Drama"]

[Text] It looks like historians will be writing a peaceful ending to the 40-hour Tolentino attempt to take over, and both Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile and General Fidel V. Ramos, AFP [Armed Forces of the Philippines] chief of staff, who were probably the most watched men when the attempted putsch was in progress, have welcomed back the breakaway soldiers.

Enrile has said that the thing to do is to "consider this as past," and to "forget, as though nothing has happened." Indeed, nothing cataclysmic happened, except perhaps the venerable Manila Hotel, which was the nerve center of Tolentino's "finest hour," if we go by the account of his followers, or his "foolish adventure," to use the term of President Aquino.

To "forget, as though nothing has happened," however, should be the last thing that the government, the reformists as well as the loyalists should do. For however history will look upon the obviously ill-planned and ill-directed attempt to set up what it believed to be the country's constitutional government, there are lessons from the 40 hours which do stand out.

First, the government has proven that it has the capacity to deal with trouble of the Tolentino kind with both dispatch and maximum tolerance. There was no mistaking the "one-ness," to coin a term, of purpose in the government, the rumors and the nasty innuendoes notwithstanding. The military has also come up with flying colors, and the spirit of reconciliation shown by both Enrile and Ramos should go beyond Camps Crame and Aquinaldo, and perhaps even the radio stations used by the loyalists.

Second, Tolentino might not have succeeded in gaining the popular support and the recognition, here and abroad, that he and his ill-advised group desperately wanted, but the 40-hour drama has at least surfaced what many recognize as legitimate concerns: that many would die, rather than allow the communists to take over, and that the Aquino government does not indeed have a monopoly on love of motherland, and the willingness to sacrifice and even pay with the ultimate price if need be to defend this idea.

Perhaps the need of the hour is for the government to do away with its blinders, and recognize that Marcos is not the sole problem or even the sole evil plaguing country and people, and for the loyalists to accept the historicity and the practical significance of the "people's power" revolution--and, for both camps, to realize the urgency of the tasks that lie ahead for all of us.

Editorial Warns Against Leniency

HK100506 Manila THE MANILA CHRONICLE in English 9 Jul 86 p 6

[Editorial: "Aquino Will Not Have Another Chance"]

[Text] The swift collapse of the power grab attempt by supporters of deposed President Marcos has regained for the Aquino government the initiative in dealing with die-hards of the old regime.

It discloses the total bankruptcy of popular support for any campaign to bring back Marcos or for any crusade against communism based on the allegations that the government is being soft on the insurgents. The huge crowds which the loyalists hoped would show up to back their counterrevolution simply did not take shape.

The government weathered the first political crisis since it came to power more than 4 months ago with its hands strengthened against any further challenge from the loyalists. But we are not encouraged the government is using its position of strength to advantage.

It must be clearly understood that the loyalists were the vanquished in the Manila Hotel showdown and are in no position to negotiate on their own terms. But yesterday, the government was still dealing with the loyalists with velvet gloves.

The government accepted the surrender of Arturo Tolentino, who tried to establish a rival government, and his followers, but it also allowed the dissidents to go into a dialogue over their alleged 'grievances.' The loyalists have absolutely no reason to impose their terms. They mounted a putsch and lost. In their attempt, armed men were used. It is a credit to the government forces that utmost restraint was used to end the revolt, but the fact that no one was hurt is not a reason for leniency--again.

The loyalists have abused the "maximum tolerance" policy of this government more than enough. The tolerance for abuse had made the government look like a toothless tiger.

The government has also been lenient to the military officers still loyal to Marcos. The Marcos generals had been treated too gently that they were able to rally behind Tolentino.

Any further leniency could only invite future mutinies and contempt on the part of loyalists for this government. Some of the generals and colonels in Manila Hotel are associated with "salvaging" by the past regime. Letting them off the hook poses a danger to public safety.

This government lost its momentum in the early days of its office by vacillating over whether it was a revolutionary government. After the Manila Hotel loyalist fiasco, President Aquino's opponents are shocked and demoralized. Having regained the initiative, she cannot afford to lose it again by default. If she squanders it again, her government does not deserve to survive the next crisis.

Tolentino's Statesmanship Dismissed

HK091524 Manila THE NEWS HERALD in English 9 Jul 86 p 4

[Editorial: "Tolentino Missed Out as Statesman"]

30 July 1986

[Text] The Tolentino putsch went soft because it did not have a leg to stand on, not the kind anyway that made the February revolution the miraculous success the whole world hailed and marvelled at.

Perhaps former Senator Arturo Tolentino had hoped that his oath-taking as acting president of the republic would galvanize the nation, not just the loyalists who are wont to seize at every reason or opportunity to create headlines, into rallying behind him and his "constitutional" cause. His mistake was he had expected too much. He believed, for instance, that Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile had gone over to the loyalist side, even naming him to his "cabinet" and the same post he now holds. It turned out Enrile was not shopping for a new job. But a bigger letdown was the word from the bossman himself in Hawaii: He had nothing to do with the Tolentino caper.

That leaves the former senator, whose career in government until the Manila Hotel event had been distinguished, out in the cold. As his drama came to a close, there was not a shadow of the people power that could bolster his claim to the presidency in acting capacity. Even the 300 or so heavily-armed soldiers were already denying they had come to Manila to support Tolentino. They had been lured by false reports that Enrile had abandoned the Aquino government, they said.

The object of his exercise in futility at the Manila Hotel, Tolentino explained as his bombshell action fizzled out, was not "direct confrontation" with the Aquino government. He only wanted a return to democracy and a constitutional government.

People shocked by Tolentino's recent actions, particularly this latest adventure, miss the obvious. The man is merely being consistent. He is a champion of adherence to the constitution and characteristically bases his claim to the presidency on the 1973 charter which was framed during the deposed regime under questionable circumstances. The problem is in his rigid insistence on what is constitutional, he refuses to accept the fact of the February Revolution that mandated the incumbent government.

He cannot hear vox dei in the vox populi that rang on EDSA [Epifano de los Santos Avenue] last February. Unfortunate for a man who could otherwise be settling comfortably into the niche of an elder statesman.

INQUIRER Derides Coup as 'Hilarious Exercise'

HK091542 Manila PHILIPPINE DAILY INQUIRER in English 8 Jul 86 p 4

[Editorial: "The Lilliputian Revolution"]

[Text] When self-proclaimed Emperor Napoleon Bonaparte attempted to retake power by escaping from his first island prison of Elba, he at least had the guts to lead his army himself.

A man who idolizes Napoleon, Mr Ferdinand Marcos of Hawaii, attempted to seize power in the Philippines over the week-end, electing to sit it out in his beach resort while his guillible and frustrated followers laid their lives on the line for his future glory.

In a sense, it was a repeat of the February revolution, with a fearful Marcos cowering in the basement of Malacanang, unwilling to lead a charge of mighty military machines to keep himself in power, ultimately afraid to face the unarmed multitude supporting his woman opponent.

In last Sunday's hilarious exercise, which opened with a bang and is now deteriorating into the proverbial whimper, former Senator Arturo Tolentino, acting on the basis of the deposed dictator's letter of instructions, proclaimed himself acting president of his own Lilliputian kingdom of Manila Hotel, taking his oath of office in front of an equally unemployed former justice of the Supreme Court.

Mr Tolentino and company apparently had dreams of reenacting the February revolution, holding up in Manila Hotel with 300 armed followers, a handful of kicked out Marcos generals and a smattering of movieland "bomba" stars. Their press spokesman, another jobless MP reported that thousands of Marcos followers were on the way to support them, and that units of the armed forces were defecting.

Unfortunately, it became quickly evident that they had thrown a party--but no one was inclined to come. After all, the memories of the people are still fresh concerning the pillage and rapine that Mr Marcos and his followers had wreaked on the country. Even the armed followers of Tolentino and company, surrendered the same night, leaving them with a 100 soldiers who are probably wondering what their officers got them into.

The dreams of power die hard for Marcos and Tolentino and for those who crony privileges have diminished with the restoration of democracy. The latest of those dreams died in the Manila Hotel Sunday night with the coming of dawn.

About all the Tolentino group have accomplished is to wreck the facilities of the government-owned Manila Hotel, for which they should be billed.

BULLETIN Doubts Recurrence of Revolution

HK090219 Manila MANILA BULLETIN in English 8 Jul 86 p 4

["Editorial:" "No Cause for Worry"]

[Text] As far as we can see, there is no need to worry that another "revolution" is about to take place, so soon after the February "revolution."
"Revolutions" cannot be mounted as easily as saying "people power."

The February revolution was initiated by two desperate men who had been ordered arrested. Those men had considerable following in the armed forces. They made a good rallying point for armed confrontation with then President Marcos. Besides, Mr Marcos refused to use force to capture the holdouts, and that was a fatal mistake.

Any revolution or coup d'etat is won by superior force. One of the factions may start out as the weaker but it may alter gain the strength that will give it victory. [sentence as received] That happened in February.

What makes for a superior force? It is not merely a matter of who commands the larger number of armed men. Superior force may be composed of various factors that by design or accident converge to give the victory to one side of the struggle.

At the time of writing, there is no sign that the February incident at Camps Aguinaldo and Crame will be replicated at the Manila Hotel.

There is no leader at the Manila Hotel who commands the loyalty of a large body of soldiers that could mount a coup. On the other hand, Minister Enrile and General Ramos have remained loyal to the administration.

There is no deep-rooted national sentiment that provides the basis of support for the Manila Hotel group.

No Duplication of Revolution Foreseen

HK090255 Manila THE MANILA CHRONICLE in English 8 Jul 86 p 4

[Editorial: "People Power Revolution Cannot be Mimicked"]

[Text] IF there is anything that the comic counterrevolution staged by supporters of deposed President Marcos demonstrates, it is that events cannot be mimicked to replicate the people power revolution of last February.

In their demonstrations over the past weeks, the loyalists tried to imitate the events of February and built up their script leading to the climax of last Sunday night at the Manila Hotel. For example, in the loyalists' reproduction of people power, they put people in nun's habits and priest's cassocks, organized marches from the provinces to the cities, and launched campaigns to collect millions of signatures in support of their lost cause. The final act last night was that loyalist troops descended in the city to try to provide the spark of rebellion that was calculated to bring millions of people to the streets on the side of the Marcos restoration cause.

As far as the script went, one cannot say that the loyalists did not try everything in the book to produce good theater. But real politics--including that on counterrevolution--has a habit of disobeying the script.

The entry of the soldiers who were supposed to provide the spark for mobilization of people power proved to be a dud. The counterrevolution depended too much on the gamble that the central characters in the February revolution--Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile and General Fidel Ramos--would rush to the loyalists' side.

The reaction of expected allies was quite a revelation--to the loyalists, as well as to the Aquino government. Enrile, at a moment of crises for the government, found himself more comfortable sitting with Joker Arroya rather than face the prospect of having to deal with a reinstated General Fabian Ver. So, that may explain his reaction that he was not looking for a new job. The soldiers lost heart after learning that Enrile and Ramos were not on their side.

The people power, which was supposed to rush to the streets in support of the rebel 'government' which had dug in at Manila Hotel, simply did not materialize. It is not hard to understand why. How could people identify themselves with rebels whose choice of "seat of government" is the symbol of luxury and profligate living of the elite? The rebels just could not shed off their elitist tastes.

President Aquino hit the nail right on the head with the remark: "How classy can they be. I hope he (Tolentino) realizes that I am not going to pay their bills. Their boss (Marcos) has left enough debt."

The closest similarity between the February events and those of last Sunday is that both were relatively bloodless. Negotiations proved more effective than bullets in bringing some of the renegade troops to lay down their arms. Here, the policy of "maximum tolerance" worked, but the problem is that it had also been seen as a sign of weakness. To Marcos supporters used to being told what to do and to twisting arms, nothing less than a whack in the head can make them respect the law.

As for the script, one final word: any kind of uprising to succeed must be based on intolerable grievances. These were lacking in the loyalists' scheme of things. They cannot be manufactured. The loyalists deserve high marks for toil--which is what dinosaurs were good at. They are no longer around.

Aquino Coolness Praised

HK090249 Manila THE NEWS HERALD in English 8 Jul 86 p 4

[Editorial: "Aquino Tolerance Could Mean Strength"]

[Text] The oath-taking as "acting president" of former Senator Arturo M. Tolentino is part of the crucible testing the mettle of President Aquino.

A leader of lesser qualities and one without a firm grip on the reins of government would not be able to stand up against onslaughts on his leadership. The Tolentino act, which he calls constitutional and Mrs Aquino condemns as seditious, is one such frontal attack on the people-constituted government. It is not merely rocking the boat but shaking it up with the clear end in view of scuttling it.

Such open challenges must be met by a show of strength, for weakness in the face of adversity can only lead to capitulation and ruin for the leadership.

President Aquino shows she has the capacity to be patient, which is a mark of a good leader. Right after getting news of the revolt in Manila, she announced an attitude of maximum tolerance towards those who blatantly defied her authority by proclaiming their own government. Her infinite patience could help her ride out the crisis precipitated by Tolentino and his fellow-Marcos supporters. If she emerges scathed but whole out of this current test of strength and endurance, we will see her running and surviving the length of the gauntlet that her presidency is.

However, there are those who see in her virtue of patience and tolerance a sign of weakness. They wanted, for example, to see her storming with her troops the loyalist stronghold.

Mrs Aquino, however, has an aversion for bloodshed which she undoubtedly believes even now should and can be avoided us using her head and not losing it.

She might turn out to be right. Her policy of peace may accomplish a miracle as the Filipino people did in February when they put an end to the protracted rule of Marcos.

Columnist Urges Aquino-Loyalists 'Showdown'

HK081506 Quezon City BUSINESS DAY in English 8 Jul 86 p 4

["My Cup of Tea" column by Ninex Cacho-Olivares: "Time for Muscle-Flexing"]

[Text] On 6 July 1986, at the driveway of the Manila Hotel, Arturo Tolentino installed himself as the acting president of the Philippine Republic. Some 300 fully armed loyalist soldiers, calling themselves "guardians," reportedly took up positions around the hotel to protect Tolentino, whom they now recognize as president.

After taking his oath before former Supreme Court Justice Serafin Cuevas, Tolentino reportedly formed his government by appointing to his Cabinet Manuel Collantes as his foreign minister; Manuel Alba, his budget minister; Isidro Rodriguez, his local governments ministers and Rafael Recto, his minister of justice. As part of his "official" act, Tolentino retained Juan Ponce Enrile as defense minister.

Enrile declined Tolentino's offer and reaffirmed his recognition and support for Mrs Aquino and her government.

Joker Arroyo, Mrs Aquino's executive secretary, called the Tolentino action a propaganda ploy. Initially, one would tend to agree with Arroyo. After all, even after Tolentino formed his government, how can that "government" impose its laws and policies? It has neither the support nor recognition of the Filipino people and the vast majority of the armed forces of the Philippines. It cannot levy nor collect taxes. Even if Tolentino decrees that the Batasan be reconvened or calls for general elections, these cannot be translated into actuality, since his "government" cannot enforce these decrees or even force the nation to obey them.

The question, however, is whether the Tolentino proclamation, his formation of a government and a show of force from the Marcos loyalist soldiers were merely staged to gain local and international media mileage. Was it all staged merely to embarrass the Aquino government?

I am convinced there is more than meets the eye in the reckless action of Tolentino and the Marcos loyalists.

The Marcos loyalist leaders know that while they have some followers--paid and unpaid--they have nevertheless failed to generate the massive and popular support of the majority of the Filipino people. And while they do have, as their supporters, Generals Zumel, Olivas, Echevarria, Palafox, Ochoco, Tadiar and Patuggalan (the last two denied they were associated with the group), they also realize that these generals and some colonels do not have enough supporters in the AFP [Armed Forces of the Philippines]. Will the entire PMA [Philippine Military Academy], the marines, the navy or the PC-INP [Philippine Constabulary-Integrated National Police] throw their support behind Zumel, Olivas, Tadiar and Ochoco? Hardly. Even before, these officers did not exactly inspire confidence among the rank and file in the armed forces.

A coup d'etat staged by these loyalists can only meet with failure. It is too early in the game for the Marcos loyalists to have a showdown with the Aquino government and the New Armed Forces of the Philippines. Why then did the Tolentino group opt to make the move at this particular time?

The Marcos loyalists must have realized that it has no rallying figure. And the return of the totally discredited and disgraced Marcos is hardly the "cause" that would stir the noblest response, even from some of his cronies. Then why, unless it hopes that the Aquino government will arrest and jail Tolentino for his act of rebellion and sedition? The loyalists have a difficult time convincing people that Mrs Aquino is a dictator and a repressive leader. But they probably hope that they can zero in on presidential repression once Tolentino is arrested and jailed. And the loyalists perhaps believe that sympathy and support for their "cause" can be whipped up through this ploy.

Still, I am of the view that the ploy cannot be that simple. If this was the only aim and goal of the loyalists, they could have gone into this without letting the loyalist generals and 300 soldiers publicize their open support for Marcos and Tolentino. They could do more damage to the NAFF [New Armed Forces of the Philippines] as insiders, rather than outsiders.

The officers and men stand to lose a lot [words indistinct]. But they are probably gambling on the odds that the Aquino government and the NAFF leadership will, on the principle of reconciliation and national unity, forgive them their defiance and later "reorient" them into recognizing the Aquino government. It has been done once, after the February revolution, and from some statements made by General Ramos and Ponce Enrile, a soft-glove approach is being resorted to, again.

But more than this, I feel that the loyalists made this move to show up Mrs Aquino as an inadequate and weak leader. The loyalist generals know that the military respects strength and responds positively to strong leadership. They know that if Mrs Aquino does not order their arrest or pardons them for their rebellious offense, this will be taken as a sign of weakness on her part. But these loyalists know that this "reconciliatory-all-is-forgiven" move will also mean the erosion of discipline and order in the NAFF, and with it, the collapse of the Aquino government.

All this reconciliation business is silly when a rebellion breaks loose. The loyalist soldiers were already given that opportunity to be reintegrated into the service, and yet they opted to defy the new government.

The time for games is over. Mrs Aquino, being the recognized president of the republic, should start cracking down on these loyalists. For one, they are armed. For another, it is no longer a rally. It is rebellion and sedition.

If she orders the arrest of Tolentino et al, other problems may erupt. But if she does not, she may also have far worse problems that may hound her government for a longer period of time.

In my view, this is the right time for Mrs Aquino to seriously have a showdown with the loyalists by cracking down on them. Even if this may further divide the military, she must take that risk. The military must make a choice: she is either its commander-in-chief or she is not. If she is the recognized leader, then the military should be completely behind her. Those who refuse to recognize her and continue to defy her should be charged and court-martialled.

Mrs Aquino is the president the Filipino people recognize. It is time for her to flex her muscles and show her toughness and strength.

If and when she does flex the presidential muscle, she will find that the nation will be behind her.

EXPRESS Blames Government

HK090445 Manila THE NEW PHILIPPINES DAILY EXPRESS in English 8 Jul 86 p 4

[Editorial: "Aquino Government Asked For It"]

[Text] It is easy, perhaps popular, to condemn the oath-taking of former Senator Arturo Mr Tolentino as acting president and the siege by Marcos loyalists of the Manila Hotel. [sentence as received] To those who have the power to influence the course of events, the presidency of Corazon Aquino, at this stage, is non-negotiable.

Tolentino's act has brought us once more to the edge of brinkmanship. It is to be hoped that in moving toward resolution of the crisis, pains will be taken to avoid the shedding of blood and the plunging of country and people into a "no win" confrontation.

In a larger sense, however, the Aquino government was asking for it.

"People's power" swept it into power, but "people's power" never really meant that the Aquino government should be above the law. And when the Aquino government began preaching reconciliation but practising its very anti-thesis in the effort to rebuild the nation after what its bright boys called the "plunder and pillage" of the Marcos years, then the handwriting on the wall became clearer and clearer.

The Aquino government, through the unbridled use of its new-found powers, made people whose competence, loyalty, and patriotism are all beyond doubt, bitter and frustrated. It swept away the constitution, abolished the Batasan, and made

the judiciary a branch of government peopled with casualties, "slaughtered" local government officials, and brought the business community into a state of uncertainty. Thus, when people whose rights, jobs, and the security of their children were rendered topsy-turvy by the government's malpractice of power took to the streets, the violent dispersals were pure Marcos, at the height of his authoritarian rule.

The people did not oust Marcos merely to install another dictator, and when it was obvious that the Aquino government chose to sit things out, instead of doing what its leaders keep on saying, then something had to give.

Obviously, the first step now is to convince the loyalist leaders that peaceful demonstrations are one thing and defying the government by overt acts is another. That the voice of reason is prevailing augurs well. But then again, if we all fail to learn from the Manila Hotel takeover, then we might as well write finis to all the struggles for a peaceful, democratic, and resurgent society.

Tatad Terms Coup 'Embarrassment'

HK081454 Quezon City BUSINESS DAY in English 8 Jul pp 4, 10

["Here and Now" column by Francisco S. Tatad: "More of an Embarrassment"]

[Text] At 75, Arturo Tolentino can hardly be described as a brash young man. He has a good constitutional and legal mind, a clarity of logic envied by many politicians, and a known ability to choose the winning side in most political battles. He can argue either side of a question with nearly equal skill.

In the Marcos regime, he took pride in describing himself as a critic, yet found little discomfort in becoming its erstwhile foreign minister. Sacked before he could settle down in that position, he called Ferdinand Marcos the root of the country's most serious ills.

But on the day Marcos unexpectedly chose him as his running mate for the February "snap" elections, he did not demur. He found himself ready enough to play the part, saying that with him at Marcos' side, the opposition would be built into the next administration, and there would be no need to choose anyone from the opposition.

Wrong. On 22 February, after rejecting the official Batasan canvass that proclaimed him and Marcos as the "duly elected winners," the people of Manila rallied behind the military revolt that removed the allegiance of the armed forces of the Philippines from the longtime ruler.

At noontime of 25 February, a couple of hours after Mrs Corazon Aquino and Salvador Laurel has taken power as president and vice-president respectively, Marcos also took his oath as the "duly elected president." Tolentino was not there. In the evening of the same day, when Marcos finally fled Malacanang aboard a U.S. military aircraft en route to Hawaii, he was not around to bid him goodbye either.

Whether it was an act of prudence or something else, this absence from the scene has not at all been explained.

He reappeared in the pro-Marcos loyalist Sunday rallies at Rizal Park and began to grace TV interviews where he denounced the Aquino government as unconstitutional. He took center-stage on 14 April, at the rump session of the abolished Batasan, when former labor minister Blas Ople, now a presidential appointee to the Constitutional Commission, described him as the rallying point of the opposition. There he vowed to take power in 60 days after soliciting several million signatures across the nation.

Loyalist sources, however, began to express doubt about his ability to carry on. They sensed that he had begun to distance himself from the deposed president in Hawaii by refusing to take some of his telephone calls.

And then suddenly, without any premonition, while President Aquino was in Cagayan de Oro, in the company of Armed Forces Chief of Staff General Fidel Ramos and PC [Philippine Constabulary] Chief Major General de Villa, he crossed his long-delayed Rubicon. He proclaimed himself "acting president of the Republic of the Philippines."

Why? What made him think he could pull it through now where he did not think he could do so earlier? What forces assured him support, and what strength did he think he had when he said he was claiming power? What strength does he have now?

The military officers around him include Brigadier General Jaime Echeverria, former commander of the regional unified command of Region 11, Brigadier General Antonio Palafox, former commander of the Tarlac-based 5th Infantry Division, Brigadier General Jose Ma Zumel, brother of NDF [National Democratic Front] spokesman Antonio Zumel and former superintendent of the Philippine Military Academy, Major General Prospero Olivas, the retired former commanding general of Metrocom, and the well-known Colonel Rolando Abadilla--a small portion of the entire AFP [Armed Forces of the Philippines].

They say they support Tolentino because Mrs Aquino is coddling the communists, and they believe that only a strong president can prevent a communist takeover. They paint pictures of the communists burning the bodies of slain soldiers in public without a word of indignation or protest from the Aquino government.

Tolentino tried to play an unusual gambit by announcing the "appointment" of Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile as his own defense minister and prime minister-designate. Either he had meant to embarrass Enrile, or he must have calculated that by playing the "Enrile card," at a time when the communists were demanding a coalition government, the nationalists a constitutional ban on U.S. military bases, and some elements in government and the left were simultaneously pouncing on the defense minister, he would win the instant support of the armed forces, notably the reformists who organized the February military revolt.

But Enrile refused to bite. He proved his detractors wrong by showing complete loyalty to the Aquino government.

At this writing, Tolentino, with an undetermined number of armed supporters, remains holed up inside the Manila Hotel. No casualties have been reported, except perhaps the hotel's, or the city's tourism. Both sides have, so far, avoided the shedding of blood, and are trying to find a bloodless, if not a graceful, way out of the confrontation.

There is no question that the coup attempt has embarrassed, much more than it has endangered, the Aquino government. But the fact alone that it was attempted at a time when the president remains popular suggests that she has not quite succeeded in projecting an image of strength. An impression of weakness obviously invited the attempt. This is the first point to ponder.

Faith in Government Tested

HK090405 Manila THE MANILA CHRONICLE in English 8 Jul 86 p 4

["Insight" column by Malou Mangahas: "Aquino's Indecision Erodes Public Confidence"]

[Text] Government's tendency to take the loyalists lightly is eroding public confidence.

Few citizens question the sincerity of President Aquino and some of her ministers in setting the moral tone in public service. They have shown it in examples: ministers returning unspent dollar allowances from trips abroad.

But not a few citizens are convinced of the government being already stable and strong enough to fend off the rampaging loyalists whom General Ramos called Sunday pleasure-walkers.

The Manila Hotel incident is a watershed for both government and loyalists. How decisive government could be in dealing with them now will determine the extent and persistence the loyalists' would impose their logic on the people in days to come.

The incident showed that poor military intelligence guides government. Once before in the past regime, Labor Minister Sanchez said that military intelligence is precisely a contradiction in terms.

The loyalists had pulled yet another trick on government on Sunday. In a hotel-garden spectacle, they proclaimed a constitution, president and cabinet, with supporting roles assigned to like-minded soldiers.

The drama unfolded while Mrs Aquino, General Ramos, and eight ministers were in Cagayan de Oro City, while the vice president had left for Europe. When word about the incident reached her, Mrs Aquino seemed worried. This was seen in her face and the way she handled questions during a press conference last night. She often asked General Ramos to answer the difficult questions.

Information Minister Locsin said the palace had learned that something like the Manila Hotel incident was set for 7 June, when Mrs Aquino moved to the Arlegui Guest House. Earlier, government has also learned that the loyalists have

genuine printing for Philippine currency. The loyalists have produced at least P50 million already, officials reported.

Yet, government has not moved in on the loyalists; now the loyalists are moving in on the government, inch by inch.

More than just ideology, the loyalist machinery is fueled by money. That machinery has now fire-power support from soldiers and armies of warlords.

Ramos said the soldiers were deceived into believing that he and Enrile had switched to the loyalists' camp. This feeble reasoning implies that either soldiers will march to the command of Ramos and Enrile, or they are just too silly to march to unauthorized commands.

One thing is certain: The loyalists will persist. They are now emboldened by government's seeming indecisiveness toward them.

What is alarming is that by its indecision, government is bound to erode the base of the people-power, on which it rests. People's confidence would weaken if government will act as if it has little power, or it refuses to use its power to defend the people's rights, paramount to which is their physical security from the maddening crowd of loyalists.

If the policy of accommodation continues, government will lose its chance to nip in the bud the irrational acts of loyalists.

The actions of loyalists indicate a cyclical progress, no matter how irrelevant and outdated their issues have become. They started with campouts at Luneta, moved their allies closer to Malacanang, spent nights at Camps Aquinaldo and Crame, declared a new father in Enrile and joined the anti-communist hype, and now, they think they have a government.

The longer Mrs Aquino and her officials hold back on the loyalists, the farther the loyalists will go in questioning her authority. They seem to think they can successively pull tricks, with nary a whip on them.

The peoples stakes in the Aquino government are real and many: the government must become stable and strong to fulfill its promises and visions that will rebound for the benefit of all.

Sincerity and moral uprightness might earn the Aquino government a place in heaven. But how can these alone deal with the devil, asked the wife of a colonel close to the president. The conflict is a test of will between one side too good to a fault, and the other too vague about its convictions and irrational in its actions.

Valencia on Meaning, Media Coverage

HK090441 Manila THE NEW PHILIPPINES DAILY EXPRESS in English 8 Jul 86 p 4

["Over a Cup of Coffee" column by Teodoro F. Valencia: "The 'Whys' of Tolentino"]

[Text] The Constitutional Commission's hopes of getting an audience to listen to debates and watch the proceedings lost out to the armed protest staged by the loyalists. The oath-taking by former MP Arturo M. Tolentino as vice president and as acting president will mean that national attention will shift to this scenario. All other side attractions must fold tent for a while.

The military officers and men who took the side of the loyalists know what they are in for if they fail in their quest for power. They made their bed and they're determined to lie in it. For those in the armed forces who are still with the government, the tension must be difficult to endure. They have to make up their minds and having done so, they have to do what must be done--face the armed enemy who used to be buddies. The communists again scored a decisive victory. Both sides are enemies, as far as the communists are concerned. They could not have wished for something better.

What happened at the Quirino Grandstand and the Manila Hotel Sunday afternoon was not a coup but an open defiance against the Aquino government by the Marcos loyalists and other disgruntled elements of society. It is a beginning and not the end of an adventure. If people power backs up this return revolution, it will become a big headache for the Aquino government. The deciding element will be how the armed forces will behave. The armed NPA's also have options. What of the armed forces of the United States which may become the deciding factor in this whole picture?

This development puts the Philippine media in a fine fix too. At the height of the "happening" at the Manila Hotel, one radio station was complaining that two other radio stations were broadcasting lies. There were only 7 armed uniformed men on the side of the Tolentino group, this station said, but the other 2 stations insisted that 1,000 was the more accurate number. In yesterday's papers, it turned out that of generals and colonels alone, there were more than seven. Radio stations can also make fools of themselves.

Yesterday's headlines also indicated the political bias of the newspapers. For some newspapers, it was sedition but others tended to call it like it is, a defiant formation of another government which claims legitimacy. Other papers were obviously confused or undecided. The television stations were probably even more harassed. They either showed film clips of the Tolentino oath-taking or they ignored it. Some just mentioned that happening but showed no pictures.

There is no doubt that the Sunday afternoon happening at the Manila Hotel put the Philippines in headlines around the world. The television crews and newsmen of the foreign media are billeted at the Manila Hotel. They could not have ignored the story nor could they have missed the pictures. If we are looking for something to prevent foreign investments and tourists from coming, we found it last Sunday.

This Manila Hotel happening may be resolved peacefully if handled properly by Minister Juan Ponce Enrile and General Ramos but the scar will remain. At least, the people will realize that there is no peace in the hearts of the people, no matter how the propaganda corps of the government toots the horn of peace. More problems of a similar nature will crop up during the plebiscite, if one is actually called for the ratification of the tailored constitution.

PHILIPPINES

REPORTAGE ON DURANO COMEBACK, NP REVITALIZATION

UNIDO Figure Welcomes Durano Return

Cebu City SUN STAR DAILY in English 15 Jun 86 pp 1, 19

[Text]

The United Nationalist Democratic Organization (Unido) in Cebu yesterday welcomed former Congressman Ramon Durano's announced return to active politics which, it said, will make the political situation in Cebu more interesting.

Former Cebu Sangguniang Panlalawigan Clavel Asas Martinez, wife of Unido Cebu chairman Bogo Mayor Celestino Martinez Jr., said "without Durano in politics, it is very boring to have Sonny Osmeña, Nita Daluz and Tony Cuenco spreading their plumes like newly-born peacocks."

Durano, a Marcos loyalist, announced his return to active politics last week during a meeting of the Kilusang Bagong Lipunan attended by

party stalwarts led by titular head, former Member of Parliament Arturo Tolentino.

The former political kingpin of Danao city announced his retirement from politics last March shortly after the fall of former President Marcos following the military-backed people's revolution last February.

4 GROUPS

According to Martinez, Cebu politics may see at least four groups fighting it out in the next local elections; namely, the Durano group, the Gullas group, the Osmeña group and the Unido.

Unlike the Osmeña group, the Unido has not been a party to political vendetta and the beheading of civil servants

going on under the present dispensation, Martinez said.

On the other hand, Martinez said, the Durano and Gullas groups still have a lot of explaining to do in the light of anomalies committed by the Marcos regime which they are identified with and consistently supported.

The Osmeña group has shown greed and arrogance in power and vindictiveness in such a very short period of time which proved it had nothing but pretense in its quest for power, she said.

The Unido, she said, with its consistent stand for justice, freedom and good government, can still face the people with clean hands.

Durano Urges Unity Against Aquino

Cebu City SUN STAR DAILY in English 23 Jun 86 pp 1, 2

[Text]

Former Member of Parliament (MP) Ramon D. Durano III, regional chairman of the revitalized Nacionalista Party (NP), underscored yesterday the need to unite against the present administration.

Speaking before the re-organizational meeting of the Cebu NP's attended by 400 partymen, he revealed their efforts to preserve their strength and maintain the potency of their group in trying

to prevent former Cebu Gov. Eduardo Gullas and his companions from breaking away.

"All our efforts proved unsuccessful and futile. We really miss them so much. While we differed in the past

— we realized that we need each other now. In fact we need everybody to fight this government, be he a friend or foe to restore constitutionality," Durano said.

He admitted the news of President Marcos' departure to Hawaii was a great blow and traumatic experience which left a political vacuum in the political organization for some time.

"However, in the months that followed, we found out through our Manila leaders

that the KBL central committee was moving towards the direction of revising our constitutional system," Durano said.

PEOPLE'S SERVANT

He said what is important now is to join a political party which is committed to the belief that law was made for man and not man for the law.

"Government is the servant of the people and not their master and definitely this is not the government of President Aquino," he declared.

Subsequent developments within the KBL, Durano said, made it necessary to adopt cor-

responding changes and innovations.

He enumerated some factors which made him accept the appointment as NP regional chairman:

- * Political expediency;
- * We do not have to sever our relations with President Marcos;
- * We can act as fiscalizer of the present government;
- * We recognize MP Arturo M. Tolentino as the duly-elected Vice President.

"We are still Nacionalistas because not one of us formally or officially severed our affiliation with the NP when the KBL became a separate political party in 1981," he explained.

Early Collapse of Alayon Seen

Cebu City SUN STAR DAILY in English 23 Jun 86 pp 1, 2

[Text] A former town mayor and member of the newly-revitalized Nacionalista Party (NP) in Cebu has predicted the early collapse of Alayon, a new opposition organization headed by former Cebu Gov Eduardo R. Gullas, with the reorganization of the Nacionalista Party (NP) yesterday at Sandaresort, Danao city.

In a talk with Sun*Star Daily, former Argao Mayor Antonio Almirante said he could foresee Alayon's early breakdown because some of its members attended yesterday's reorganization meeting of the NP.

"After this (NP) convention, Alayon is certain to die in the incubator because of premature birth and lack of oxygen," Almirante said.

Disclaimer

According to Almirante, some signatories to the Alayon manifesto who are from Negros Occidental, Siquijor and Bohol disclaimed they signed such manifesto.

Almirante said those Alayon members who joined yesterday's NP reorganization were former Tuburan Mayor Jesus Montecillo, former Alegria Mayor Benito Aller and former Ronda Mayor Socorro Gabriel. He said they were among the signatories to the declaration of principles of Alayon.

To recall, leaders of the Durano faction before reorganization of NP made attempts to prevent a split between Durano and Gullas in order to have a strong opposition in Cebu under the present administration.

Gullas, however, refused to join with Durano and instead organized Alayon as a regional organization declaring that their party is for the service to the people.

Almirante said Dumaguete City Mayor Lorenzo Maxino, former Member of Parliament (MP) Andres Bustamante of Negros Occidental and former NP David Tirol of

Bohol made the disclaimer last June 10 during a meeting with former MPs Arturo Tolentino and Nicanor Yniguez at Shangrila resort, Lapu-lapu city.

According to Almirante, these political leaders told him that they never did sign any manifesto. He said they were made to believe that the meeting was to find ways to present a common stand on the supposed new opposition party.

With this development, Almirante said, is there no more place for Alayon to go when some of its alleged regional members even disclaimed membership.

Columnist Blames Government on Durano Return

Cebu City SUN STAR DAILY in English 23 Jun 86 pp 4, 23

[Column by Godofredo M. Roperos: "Durano Is Back"]

[Text]

This all too pervasive recent concern on the ways of politics - past, present, and future - of Danao City's wily political pro, former Congressman Ramon M. Durano is, to our mind, making an undue hero of the old man, whether he deserved it or not. For one, after the last presidential struggle, he was all set to retire from active politicking. He has had his share of political wounds and scars.

When we last saw him at his lair - we had accompanied a friend bearing a letter of thanks for him for a cash donation he made to a Rotary Club out-of-school youth project - the political fox was overseeing preparation of a 60-hectare area which he said was going to be the site of a university. He feels some students who cannot afford the high cost of living in highly urbanized centers of education such as Cebu would welcome such a school.

He refused to talk about politics. For a man who had made his name and fortune from politics, he acted as if he has had his fill of it, and has chosen now to live the life of a retired, scarred warrior, veteran of many a political

war. He desires nothing now from God and man, except be allowed to rest his weary limbs, and enjoy his twilight years as an observer of the passing scene.

The aging bent still, sprightly political pro brought us to a new church-a-building on an area which was once part of a sugar cane field. It was one, he said, of a number he has built, is building, or intends to build in Cebu for communities that needed one. He was at the time, also simultaneously building another one somewhere in Bogo. He just finished one in a barrio of his city. All the churches cost him an average of P3 million each.

But it seems, he is never destined to live a life in retirement, much less a peaceful one that a retired warrior deserves. Like the fastest gun of the legendary American west, some upstarts who are still out to seek their own fortunes or make their own names in the same calling, always show up to disturb his rest, to challenge him to one more encounter, just to determine, finally, who is who in the land now. For the one who draws the fastest, survives.

And as often happened in the Old West, the grizzly gunslinger whose legend as the fastest gun alive refused to die down with his retirement and withdrawal from the scene of action, was forced to put on his trusted Colt .45 after a series of harassments and tauntings from the upstart who just could not leave well enough alone. And as it often happened, too, in the Old West, when the smoke of battle settled down, it was, as expected, the upstart who was sprawled kissing the dust.

And it was among the cowboys of the American west, so could it be in politics in this strongly politics-minded archipelago. So now that the aging but wizened political pro, after only a few months in retirement, has been drawn back to active politics through no fault of his, we suppose the fun for the next elections should now begin in earnest.

But we do not cotton to the idea of some nuevo politico pressuring the military into staging a withhunt for some non-existent firearms, simply because she has divined in her august mind a vision of arms being kept somewhere. And since she cannot imagine of anybody in Cebu capable of

holding on to such arms other than the Durano family, then ergo, the Duranos should be made to produce them. And the only way was to stage a raid.

The whole scenario smacked of the very "misdeeds" by the late but unlamented Marcos regime which the present ruling one desperately fought against. We had expected the new leadership to be employing something novel, something original in pursuing the business of government, one that would show they are really different from the leadership they deposed.

As it turned out though, we are quite disappointed. No, not yet disillusioned, just disappointed. For we really did not have such high expectations for the new leaders. Where we are quite deeply disappointed is in the elements of the PC/INP that allowed itself to be pressured into doing something where it did not have any concrete proof to stand on. No less than the Regional Commander himself, Colonel Abenina, confirmed the fact his command does not have any record of firearms issued to the Duranos.

Indeed, with the retirement of the wily politician from active politics in the province, we would have

probably seen the dawning of a new political norm of conduct in Cebu politics, initiated by our new generation of politicians, many of whom bloomed into manhood during and after the Second World War. Surely, this new and younger group is bound to have a style of their own, a different way of using power.

Unfortunately, what is happening now is that we may still have a taste of the same brand of politics we have seen before. The style and the technique is the same. Only the user and the used have changed. So, what is there for us to hope, after all?

Cartoon Links NP, KBL

Cebu City SUN STAR DAILY in English 23 Jun 86 p 4

[Cartoon]



PHILIPPINES

REPORTAGE ON DURANO WEALTH PROBE PROPOSAL, FIREARMS

Wealth Probe Proposed

Cebu City SUN STAR DAILY in English 22 Jun 86 pp 1, 2

[Article by Thea C. Rinen]

[Text]

Local Governments Deputy Minister Nepita Cortes Daluz yesterday said she would press for an investigation into the wealth of the Duranos in Danao city.

In an interview with SunStar Daily, Daluz said she will ask the Presidential Commission on Good Government (PCGG) to deputize the regional task force of the Ministry of Local Governments (MLG) to look into the financial empire of the Duranos.

Another alternative, she said, would be to send over a PCGG team to Cebu to investigate the Durano group of companies which she said have unpaid loans amounting to millions of pesos from government financial institutions.

Daluz said she will discuss the matter with PCGG Chairman Jovito Salonga or Commissioner Raul Daza when she goes to Manila.

FIREARMS

The government official earlier urged the military to continue their search for hidden firearms of the Duranos.

Former Congressman Ramon Durano, however, denied having possessed loose firearms.

Col. Edgardo Abenina, PC-INP regional commander, also said yesterday that the government had not issued any firearm to the Duranos. (Sepa-

rate story).

Durano earlier said he would welcome any government investigation into his wealth or business firms.

WARLORDS

The military's campaign against loose firearms of the Duranos, staunch supporters of deposed President Marcos, was ordered by Armed Forces Chief Gen. Fidel Ramos as part of the campaign to disarm political warlords and their private armies.

According to Daluz, the MLG task force is headed by her confidential assistant, Roderic Poca.

STEPS

In an earlier interview, Poca said among the steps the task force will do are:

- Request the Bureau of Internal Revenue, Philippine National Bank, Development Bank of the Philippines, National Power Corp. and the Bureau of Customs to furnish the commission with documents on the unpaid loans of the Durano group of companies.

- After determining the amount, the commission will recommend terms of payment.

PC Denies Guns Issued To Durano

Cebu City SUN STAR DAILY in English 22 Jun 86 pp 1, 2

[Text]

PC-INP Recon 7 Chief Col. Edgardo M. Abenina yesterday denied published reports that government firearms were issued to former Congressman Ramon M. Durano Sr. during the regime of deposed President Marcos.

In a talk with Sun*Star Daily, he said "records at the regional headquarters of the constabulary in Central Visayas do not show a single firearm issued to the politi-

cal kingpin of Cebu or to members of his family."

"Since the records show nothing, then there is no reason for us to collect from the Durano's government-issued firearms as alleged by some quarters," Abenina added.

DOUBTS

He also said to clear up doubts that some loose firearms are still in the possession of the Durano family,

intelligence data gathering will be intensified.

Abenina said former Member of Parliament Ramon D. Durano, III former Danao city Mayor Ramon D. Durano Jr., his son Ramon Durano IV and businessman Jesus Durano voluntarily surrendered seven firearms to the constabulary before their homes were searched last Tuesday.

"Since the June 20 deadline to turn over the firearms had already lapsed, we cannot accept any further surrender of firearms before any further searches are made. And, if any seizures are made, we will have to file criminal charges," he said.

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CSO: 4200/1202

PHILIPPINES

CARTOONS LAMPOON OPPOSING VIEWS ON SECURITY ASSISTANCE

Aquino, Shultz Definitions

Quezon City BUSINESS DAY in English 27 Jun 86 p 5

[Cartoon by Nonoy Marcelo titled "Tisoy"]

[Cartoon]



Funds, Guard Dog Satirized

Quezon City ANG PAHAYAGANG MALAYA in English 27 Jun 86 p 4

[Cartoon]



/9274
CSO: 4200/1202

PHILIPPINES

CEBU CITY COLUMNIST CRITICIZES AQUINO MOVES

Cebu City VISAYAN HERALD in English 20 Jun 86 p 2

[Atty Vicente S. Del Rosario in the "Bombshell" column: "Please Cory, Stop Imitating Marcos"]

[Text] Before closing her campaign for the Presidency, Cory Aquino made a solemn promise that if elected she would dismantle the edifices that dictator Marcos had created and to restore freedom, justice and democracy to the Filipino people. Because of this solemn promise, the Filipinos never believed and never suspected, upon her elevation to the Presidency after the four-day peaceful revolution that she would follow the footsteps of the deposed dictator. But to their surprise, she became a dictator herself when she inherited the power to legislate which was given to Marcos by Amendment No 6 of the 1973 constitution. In addition, she appointed the delegates to the Constitutional Commission, a power never before exercised by any democratic President. Then she assumed jurisdiction over all officials and offices created by Marcos. And after that, she sent her representative to America to seek a loan of \$568 million, a practice that had been done by the deposed dictator.

Recently, she announced that she would introduce land reform in modified form. This land reform was also a Marcos gimmick in the past. Knowing that Marcos, before he was deposed, had a government budget of P80 billion, Cory's government is now preparing a budget that would go up to P110 billion. Her budget surpassed that of Marcos by P30 billion. It is clear to us now that Cory will have to borrow millions of dollars in imitation of Marcos. Then this will add up to the billions of dollars that Pres. Cory has to borrow from foreign sources.

So now, please Cory, stop imitating Marcos, for in so doing you are giving him a stature of respectability he does not deserve. On the contrary, you have showing lack of originality which you should have because, according to you, you are a sincere and dedicated servant of the people.

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CSO: 4200/1202

PHILIPPINES

FOREIGN MINISTRY CONCERN OVER SHAHANI FAUX PAS

Quezon City ANG PAHAYAGANG MALAYA in English 27 Jun 86 p 7

[Article by Chit Estella: "Shahani Commits Faux Pas?"]

[Text]

Personnel at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs expressed fears yesterday that the officials' pledge to instill and encourage professionalism in the service may be threatened by the actions of some officials themselves.

Ministry sources said a retired consul in Winnipeg, Canada is being asked to return to work, this time as consul general in Los Angeles.

The consul, Leonigildo Anolin, who was retired February this year, was recommended anew by Deputy Foreign Minister Leticia Ramos Shahani.

Sources said Shahani is also working for the appointment of her sister, Gloria de Roda, for a position in Madrid, Spain. De Roda was originally appointed vice consul in San Diego, California when then President Marcos opened a consulate there.

It was also reported that Shahani's special assistant Apollinario Lozada Jr., received his pay in dollars.

This is reportedly because the assistant is supposed to be in Vienna. His tour of duty is scheduled to end in December.

Shahani reportedly wanted Lozada to stay on as special assistant in the

Padre Faura office and as incentive, allowed him to continue getting his salary in dollars.

Ministry personnel also recalled a virtual diplomatic faux pas committed by Shahani.

The official reportedly sent a note to the Iranian embassy in Manila extending to him the Philippine government's greetings.

While the letter began by referring to Iran, it however, ended with an expression of desiring to have closer ties with another country, Egypt.

Iranian embassy officials sent back the letter, underlining the error and calling the MFA's attention to it. -

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CSO: 4200/1202

PHILIPPINES

BUSINESS DAY REPORTS ENHANCED RP LABOR IMAGE

Quezon City BUSINESS DAY in English 27 Jun 86 p 3

[Article by Gethsemane M. Selirio]

[Text]

GENEVA — The 72nd International Labor Conference ended Wednesday with the Philippine government enjoying a new image as an upholder of labor standards for the benefit of the Filipino worker.

For the first time in 20 years, the Philippine government was not made to explain before the International Labor Organization (ILO) any violation of international law and standard.

The ILO standards committee decided not to question the government this year because President Corason Aquino has already announced the liberalization of labor policies in the country, deputy labor and employment minister Pablito Sanidad told *Business Day*.

Sanidad, who is the delegation's representative to the standards committee, added that President Aquino also announced last May 1 that her government will abide by the ILO conventions, particularly those affirming labor's right to strike and organize.

The credentials committee also realizes that the country just went

through a change in government following a four-day revolution in February and is still going through a transition period, Sanidad said. The committee has decided to "let go" of the Philippines for this year but asked the government to submit a report on the application of labor standards in the 1987 conference, he added.

The deputy minister noted that during the Marcos regime, the existence of "repressive" labor laws always put the Philippines in the agenda of the ILO standards committee. The committee's decision this year could only be an indication of the high trust and confidence the ILO has for the new government of Aquino, he said.

President Aquino last May 1 announced the repeal of several restrictive laws and provisions in the Labor Code issued by deposed president Marcos. This move, and the general liberal stance of Aquino toward labor, have led to a complete reversal of the Philippine government's image in the international labor field.

SPECIAL TREAT-

MENT. The Philippines, in fact, appears to have been accorded a special treatment by the ILO. Other countries like Haiti which has also recently overthrown a dictatorship, was still asked to explain before the ILO committee alleged violations of labor laws and standards.

Despite the change in government, the economic and working standards of an average Filipino worker has not changed much though. The minimum wage is still pegged at P37, way below the government-set poverty line. Unemployment is still at a high 12% due to the slowdown in business and investments.

Sanidad said the ILO committee said it understands that the country is trying to recover from the economic ruin largely brought about by the former administration. The Aquino government has at least declared its intention to undertake an economic recovery program with the main aim of improving the lot of labor, he said.

The dropping of complaints filed during the Marcos regime by several

labor groups also helped in boosting the Philippine government's image.

The Trade Unions of the Philippines and Allied Services (TUPAS), through its secretary-general Bonifacio Tupaz, has informed the ILO during his privileged speech that he is dropping his group's complaint against the government. TUPAS's complaint dealt with the issuance of restrictive labor laws by Marcos and the harassment of labor leaders.

The militant Kilusang Mayo Uno (KMU), although it has not categorically dropped its complaints, said in a letter to ILO director general Francis Blanchard that it is excluding the Aquino government from any liability or culpability in the violations of labor standards committed during the Marcos regime.

KMU chairman Rolando Otalia told Blanchard that he wants the ILO to pursue the investigation of their complaints because his group wants the government of Marcos officially tagged as guilty of violating rights of labor.

PHILIPPINES

BAYAN FORMS GROUP IN TOLEDO, CEBU

Cebu City VISAYAN HERALD in English 23 Jun 86 pp 1, 4

[Text] The Bagong Alyansang Makabayan (BAYAN-Sugbo) yesterday announced the formation of a BAYAN ad hoc chapter in Toledo City.

The new chapter, headed by Apolinar Hermida of the militant Panag-alyansa sa mga Mamumuo sa Atias (PAMA), includes various organizations from the peasant, worker, youth, fisherman and women sectors.

The said chapter formation, which was attended by several BAYAN provincial leaders, was the fifth since the militant federation of Cebu-based cause oriented groups was founded last June 1985.

Other cities and municipalities which already have BAYAN chapters are Lapulapu City, Talisay, Mandaue City and Balamban.

Aside from Hermida, other elected officers of BAYAN-Toledo City are Aglipayan priest Joe Diaden, vice chairman; Freding Lamela, secretary; Anatolia Mandalunis treasurer; and Nestor Panilag, auditor.

It was also clarified that all progressive political forces based in Toledo City who uphold popular democracy and national sovereignty, and who believe in principled electoral participation and militant pressure politics as effective means to institutionalize "people's power", are invited to attend the founding congress, which will be held within the next two weeks.

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CSO: 4200/1202

PHILIPPINES

NDF GROUP BELITTLES IMPACT OF BALWEG SPLINTER GROUP

Quezon City ANG PAHAYAGANG MALAYA in English 27 Jun 86 pp 1, 7

[Article by Noel Bartolome]

[Text]

The underground Cordillera People's Democratic Front (CPDF), a member of the outlawed National Democratic Front, does not consider the splinter group of Fr. Conrado Balweg a threat to the unity of the mountain people and the revolutionary movement.

Two CPDF spokesmen, who identified themselves as Omar and Santy, disclosed this yesterday during an interview with newsmen in Metro Manila.

Santy said that Fr. Balweg and the Cordillera People's Liberation Army, who previously broke away from the CPDF, have only at least 40 remaining members and have influence in three villages in Kalina and a municipality in Abra.

He said the Balweg forces which started with 70 armed guerrillas, following their separation from the NDF command early this year, had steadily declined as more CPLA members were drawn back to the national democratic movement.

The CPDF is supported by the majority of the masses in the five Cordillera provinces and the rebel group is still the sole representative of the revolutionary movement in the vast mountain region, he said.

He said Balweg's CPLA advocated a totally autonomous Cordillera region separate from the mainstream of the na-

tional government and governed by the principle of "Bodong" peace pact among warring tribes.

Santy explained that, previously, Fr. Balweg called for secession of the Cordillera peoples, which was later toned down into the establishment of a federal state and was consequently changed to the present demand for regional autonomy.

On the other hand, Omar said the CPDF was guided by an 8-point program in coordination with the NDF program for the Cordillera region.

The program includes:

1. Unity with the other national regions against US imperialism and the local reactionary classes.
2. Eradication of nationwide oppression and assertion of all Filipinos to self-determination to stop encroachment by multinational corporations.
3. Mobilization of the masses for the people's war.
4. Legitimize ancestral lands to give the people land ownership.
5. Economic and social development.
6. Recognition of the right of the national minorities to promote mutual respect and equality among the Filipinos.
7. Development of indigenous cultures and abolish the "commercialization and vulgarization" of tribal traditions, such as the Grand Caniao Festival.
8. Unity and solidarity with other national minorities, particularly the Moro people.

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CSO: 4200/1202

THAILAND

PREM ADDRESSES ASIA-PACIFIC TRADE CONFERENCE

BK170105 Bangkok BANGKOK POST in English 17 Jun 86 pp 13, 15

[Excerpts] Prime Minister Prem Tinsulanon yesterday urged all countries to resist what he termed "recession mentality" and to adopt a freer and more open trade system, in his opening speech for the three-day Asia-Pacific Trade Ministers' Conference.

Despite economic recovery in many parts of the world, developing countries continue to reel under various forms of protectionism against their exports, Gen Prem told the meeting which is being attended by high-level representatives from 30 governments including 12 ministers and deputy or vice ministers.

Apart from protectionism, he said, falling commodity prices and other trade-distorting measures taken by advanced economies, "contrary to the spirit and principles of GATT (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade)" have hampered the growth of the regions developing countries.

The developing Asia-Pacific countries are the main commodity suppliers and depend largely on earnings from these exports to finance their development programmes, he said.

Noting that the recession mentality seems to be prevalent, he warned: "An unwarranted degree of hesitancy or caution... in going for a faster rate of expansion, for fear of runaway inflation or otherwise, will leave us all with stunted growth and the stagnancy of unrealised potentials."

The meeting is being held for the first time, in Bangkok by the United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (ESCAP). At the end of the conference tomorrow, a final document containing recommendations on general trade policies and specific measures for expanding intra-regional trade is expected to be adopted.

According to Gen Prem, it is deeply regrettable that the proclamation of faith by all nations to preserve and strengthen the open multilateral trading system "has yet to be translated into action."

Calling for the adoption of more "outwardlooking policy," he said the Thai Government welcomes efforts to promote trade liberalisation and eliminate protectionism and other forms of trade restrictions.

ESCAP Executive Secretary S.A.M.S. Kibria also took note of the enormous human and natural resources waiting to be tapped and developed in Asia and the Pacific.

"Our region is one of striking diversity, not only in population size and levels of economic development, but also in natural endowments and technological sophistication," he said. "Its large population not only represents a mammoth work force, but also a potential mass market of tremendous dimensions."

Mr Kibria added that if a determined collective effort would be exerted by Asia-Pacific countries to exploit the potential more fully, the region's economic growth could be more easily sustained and, in many cases, accelerated significantly.

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CSO: 4200/1178

THAILAND

ASIA-PACIFIC TRADE CONFERENCE ADOPTS DECLARATION

BK190105 Bangkok THE NATION in English 19 Jun 86 p 2

[Text] Following an East-West wrangle over wording, ESCAP trade ministers yesterday adopted a declaration calling for trade liberalization, measures to boost commodity prices, and improvements in finance and investment.

The three-day meeting was the first of its kind in eight years. The declaration, drafted last week and negotiated outside the full conference, contains a number of specific proposals for ESCAP and other regional bodies to hold meetings and undertake studies into ways of dealing with problems of trade finance, investment, human resources development, and other issues.

The proposed studies would look at such proposals as an export refinancing scheme and at various issues such as the importance of services in the region. Trading issues such as generalized systems of preference would be looked at, and the ministers urged countries to find the political will to return to the principals of freer trade as espoused by GATT.

But coverage of the broader issues, while referring specifically to such areas as commodities, textiles, services, technology transfer and the proposed new round of GATT negotiations, falls short of committing delegations to specific actions.

The meeting's chairman, Bangladesh Commerce Minister Kazi Zafar Ahmed, told reporters that in such a large body, it is not possible to come up with a consensus on concrete details when particular countries still disagree on them. He said, however, that the delegates from the 29 countries worked well together with goodwill, cooperation and a willingness to adjust their positions.

Yesterday afternoon's closing session, however, showed exactly how difficult it is to seek adjustments in countries' positions. It was devoted to discussions about the substance and wording of a separate document, the report of the meeting's proceedings.

The Soviet delegation, supported by its allies from Afghanistan, Laos, Vietnam, and Mongolia sought to add to the report references to their delegations' calls for a regional conference on trade and economic cooperation.

The U.S., British, Dutch, Australian and New Zealand delegations opposed the move. They objected to the late stage at which the proposal was made, and the wording of the proposal which they said could imply incorrectly that countries outside the Soviet block supported the idea of the conference.

A compromise was eventually reached after hasty talks during an adjournment, and the declaration was approved soon afterwards.

Earlier, the Japanese delegation found itself in the curious position of conference rapporteur to its own draft report. The Japanese said they did not want to endorse a number of points in the report and in the declaration covering the liberalization of textiles trading, GATT procedures and export subsidies in agriculture. They argued that these issues should be dealt with in the global multilateral trade negotiations scheduled for September in Uruguay.

Some of the wording of the report was amended and the Japanese reservations were duly noted, but according to official tradition the reservations were simply noted as having come from "one delegation."

ESCAP Executive Secretary S.A.M.S. Kibria described the meeting as "historic," and the Chairman, Ahmed called it a "milestone." Others, whoever, were more sceptical about any tangible outcome. Some suggested that it was a first step towards the global trade negotiations--a kind of dress rehearsal.

The marked lack of full ministerial representation is perhaps an indication of the interest participating countries showed. Mongolia was apparently the only country to send a full minister.

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CSO: 4200/1178

THAILAND

DELEGATE SCORES DEVELOPED COUNTRIES 'UNFAIR TRADE PRACTICES'

BK190155 Bangkok BANGKOK POST in English 19 Jun 86 p 15

[Excerpt] Thailand on Monday fired broadsides at some developed countries for the unfair trade practices, saying that these had caused Thailand to pay for the worst consequences of their subsidies. The strong remark came from Business Economics Department Deputy Director-General Kroekkrai Chiraphaet during the Asia-Pacific Trade Ministers' Conference in Bangkok.

He blamed such "unfair trade practices" as subsidies to production and exports by some developed countries for the drop in commodity prices. He said, Thailand, like other nonsubsidising agricultural exporting countries, had to pay for "the worst consequences of these subsidies." "For the world trading system to operate efficiently and equitably, all trading nations, big and small, must be given full opportunities to compete on a free and fair basis," he added.

He joined Indonesia in voicing strong support for the new round of multilateral trade negotiations scheduled for September in Uruguay.

The Thai and Indonesian delegations said the negotiations would provide an appropriate venue for all trading countries to join in a worldwide effort to combat protectionism.

A commitment by developed countries to help end unfair trade practices "will inspire all of us to participate fully in the negotiating process," said Indonesian Ambassador to Thailand Aried Riyadi.

Earlier Australia, Japan and New Zealand, the three developed countries in Asia and the Pacific, had expressed strong support to the launch of a new round of multilateral trade negotiations (MTN).

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CSO: 4200/1178

THAILAND

PRASONG ON UN GRANT FOR ANTIPIRACY PROGRAM

BK190129 Bangko THE NATION in English 19 Jun 86 p 2

[Text] The government yesterday received US\$1.5 million from the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) for its antipiracy programme to train officials involved in cracking down on crime at sea.

The Grant was presented by Gerald Walzer, a representative of the UNHCR, to Squadron Leader Prasong Sunsiri, secretary general of the National Security Council (NSC), at the latter's office.

Prasong told reporters that the amount was the first lot of the total \$2,573,389 (about 66.8 million baht) the UNHCR will provide under the 1986-1987 programme. The balance is expected to be given to the government later this year.

The 1985-1986 programme now in its fourth term is due to end on 22 June and the government has decided to extend the programme for another year, the NSC chief said.

The programme launched in 1982 and extended on a yearly basis was jointly implemented by the Navy, the Police Department and the Communications Ministry's Harbour Department. It was coordinated by the NSC and assisted by the UNHCR. The operation is coordinated from Songkhla.

The navy which has a vital role will mark the programme's extension at a ceremony in Songkhla on 15 July, according to informed sources. Prasong is expected to preside over the ceremony.

The sources said out of the annual budget, \$75,000 will go for training of navy personnel, provincial and marine police.

The navy and provincial police will each receive \$30,000 for sending their officers on short-term study tour abroad.

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CSO: 4200/1178

THAILAND

VOFA VIEWS SRV STANCE ON REFUGEE CAMP SHELLING

BK211134 Bangkok Voice of Free Asia in English 1500 GMT 19 Jun 86

[Article: "Who Must Be Responsible for the Site 8 Incident?"]

[Text] On 6 June 1986, the Vietnamese Embassy in Bangkok issued a statement by Vietnamese Deputy Foreign Minister Hoang Bich Son denying that he had been quoted by the deputy spokesman of the Thai Foreign Ministry as saying that the refugee camp known as Site 8 might have been shelled by the troops of the Heng Samrin regime. The Thai Foreign Ministry's deputy spokesman quoted Mr Hoang's words while he was speaking at a press conference just a few minutes after the conclusion of the talks between Vietnamese Deputy Foreign Minister and his Thai counterpart, Deputy Foreign Minister Arun Phanuphong, on 5 June.

The words may change depending on the speakers. But what is indisputable was that two incidents did take place. First of all, on 29 May 1986 at around 0830, 15 rounds of artillery shells fired from a base inside Kampuchea landed onto the middle of UNBRO [United Nations Border Relief Operation]--supervised Site 8 Camp, which houses some 30,000 Kampuchean civilians at Tambon Thai Udom, Khlong Hat District, Prachi Buri Province, about 4 km deep inside Thailand. Most refugees were enjoying their breakfast when those 15 shells landed in the middle of the camp. As a result, 11 Kampucheans--2 men, 7 women, 1 boy, and 1 girl, were killed and some 47 seriously wounded--8 men, 7 women, 14 boys, and 18 girls. The shooting also destroyed a number of thatch houses and forced thousands of Kampuchean civilians to flee the area.

The second incident occurred on 5 June 1986, seven days after the first incident. Vietnamese Deputy Foreign Minister Hoang Bich Son had a meeting with Thai Deputy Foreign Minister Arun Phanuphong at the Thai Foreign Ministry and mentioned about the Site 8 incident. Another indisputable fact is that all three factions were most likely responsible for the Site 8 incident. First are the Vietnamese troops in Kampuchea, the Khieu Samphan resistance force, and the Heng Samrin force. The Khieu Samphan force was being initially suspected by some international organization forces. However, it seemed illogical for the Khieu Samphan force to open fire on the camp. Such an action would not only destroy the resistance force's image, but also abolish the ongoing support from the Kampuchean civilians. Why would they kill their own suppliers and risk condemnation from all over the world? And it is also illogical for the Heng Samrin force to destroy the support from the Kampuchean

civilians either. Thus, the entire responsibility falls upon the Vietnamese troops in Kampuchea.

According to the Thai Foreign Ministry's deputy spokesman, this was the last mopping-up operation by Vietnamese troops against the Kampuchean resistance force before the rainy season. Again the Vietnamese dry-season offensive was a regular incident taking place every year since 1979. However, it is a tradition for Vietnam to deny everything it has done. On 30 May, only one day after the Site 8 incident, the VIETNAMESE NEWS AGENCY issued a statement rejecting claim that Vietnam had fired on Site 8, and when the Vietnamese Deputy Foreign Minister visited Thailand on 5 June, he was quoted as saying that Vietnam has nothing to do with the incident and that the camp might have been shelled by the troops of the Heng Samrin forces. Also later denying what he had said, Mr Hoang was unable to conceal the Vietnamese [words indistinct] (?responsible) big boss. The Heng Samrin force was chosen to be the scapegoat for the (disgraceful) and shameful act.

Vietnam realized later that the accusation on the Heng Samrin force not only failed to convince the whole world but also destroyed the credibility the Phnom Penh regime once had on its big boss. So, Vietnam had no other choices but to again deny its previous position. But it was too late.

The victims in the aftermath [were] the innocent Kampuchean displaced persons who lost their lives, families, and even worse their homeland. But it is certain that they had never and will never lose their hope for a better future. History has proved that the aggressor will finally be defeated, and it is not an exception in this case.

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CSO: 4200/1178

THAILAND

ISRAELI SCIENTISTS PROVIDING RESEARCH ASSISTANCE

BK230208 Bangkok THE NATION in English 23 Jun 86 p 3

[By Sinfa]

[Text] Israeli scientists, with funding from the United States government, are helping Thai counterparts in research on agriculture, natural science and engineering to support development projects in Thailand, a senior Israeli diplomat said.

The programme started last year to make use of Israel's expertise in agriculture and rural development to benefit less-developed countries, has been expanded with the bulk of its 1986 budget to be used in Thai projects, said Ariel Kerem, first secretary of the embassy.

He said 25 percent of the 1986 funds will be channelled into financing eight research projects, including one that involves development of new anti-malarial drugs.

The new malarial strain carried in by Indochinese refugees has reduced the effectiveness of existing drugs and development of new medicine is required, said an official of US Agency for International Development (USAID) which coordinates the Thai-Israeli cooperation.

The US-Israel Cooperative Development Research Programme was designated as a new initiative to link scientists of developing countries with those of Israel, whose agriculture has rapidly grown by technological innovation, [words indistinct].

Funding covers a period of two to three years with a maximum of US\$150,000 (about 3,945,000 baht) for each project. The amount is equally divided between Israel and its partner countries. Researchers make studies in their respective countries but occasionally travel to the other side's country.

The eight projects planned for 1986 mostly concerning the improvement of agricultural productivity will receive a total funding of about \$1.17 million and each will be jointly conducted by an Israeli scientist and a Thai counterpart.

Last year Thailand was the beneficiary of two projects. The first dealt with improvement of Thai sesame while the other was the invention of a cashew nut sheller.

The USAID official said ten other projects have been proposed to the USAID in Washington for next year and eight of them are expected to be approved.

Kerem said the Israeli government is not in a position to provide a large amount of financial assistance to any country but is ready to share the experience and expertise it has in agriculture, engineering and other fields. As a small country circled by hostile countries, Israel has to make use of every plot of land, even the barren areas, to grow agricultural products, he said.

However, in another programme, Jerusalem helped finance the training of Thais, mostly from the government sector, in Israel. The training includes courses in agriculture, community and rural development, cooperation and labour, and health.

Kerem said about 30 Thais will be selected each year for the training for which Jerusalem provides partial financial support. Most of the two-to-three month courses are in agriculture.

He said the programme has been operating for 20 to 25 years with about 800 Thais having been trained in the Middle East country.

Israel is also prepared to share its experience with Thailand over the emergency treatment of injured soldiers in war time and the curing of thalassemia major which one percent of Thai people are suffering from, he said. The disease can only be cured by a bone marrow transplant which only US and Israeli surgeons can perform, he said. However, the Israeli operation is cheaper and equally effective, he claimed.

Although Thailand and Israel have many areas in which to expand their relations, the contacts have been kept in low profile since the Thai government does not want to disrupt its enormous interests in the Middle East Muslim countries.

/12913

CSO: 4200/1178

THAILAND

PAPER BACKS PHILIPPINES' AQUINO CALL FOR ASEAN ACTION

BK250121 Bangkok BANGKOK POST in English 25 Jun 86 p 6

[Text] President Corazon Aquino has hit the nail squarely on the head. ASEAN has for 19 years dithered over its definition. Its exterior image of boundless success is very much a case of individual national achievement rather than that for the region overall. And in the case of the Philippines, which has become the basket case of the association, solutions to its dilemma are being sought far from the shores of ASEAN. Thus the broadside from Mrs Aquino was undoubtedly incorporating some of that chagrin, the sense that her confreeres in ASEAN were at their reluctant best in the opening weeks of her assumption of power.

ASEAN continues meeting but as its opening discussions poignantly demonstrated, it has become focused on the external. The ASEAN ministers characteristically centered their speeches on low commodity prices and the protectionist policies of the industrialised countries. Neither of these problems will be much affected by pronouncements from Manila. What they can try to achieve is something tangible to inject life into what is fast becoming an emperor without clothes.

Certainly the association has achieved some impressive recognition from foreign governments, U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz and foreign ministers and representatives of Canada, New Zealand, Australia and the European Community are also gathered in Manila. And all are expected to agree to the next step in all this pomp and splendour, a summit of the ASEAN leaders in Manila next year.

But we who sit waiting for the crumbs have found a kindred spirit in Mrs Quino. Only just wrested from the sanctity of civilian life, she has still the perspective of someone looking at the arena of power without being mesmerised by its trappings. The British poet John Milton wrote, "They also serve who only stand and wait." Not disputing the essential verity contained in that line, it must be stressed to our ASEAN emissaries in Manila that we have stood and waited for almost two decades. It is time to put up or shut up.

The very problems which ASEAN cited in its opening addresses could be tackled much more effectively if the nations involved pulled together more concertedly. Considering that the combined population of ASEAN approaches

that of markets like the United States and Europe and even exceeds Japan's, an ASEAN truly united can command considerable clout. But as it stands now, a loose association of vaguely linked parts, the whole lacks punch and its ability to make demands of trading partners like the U.S. and Japan is reduced accordingly.

There are problems which are uniquely ASEAN's to solve. The conflict between the Philippines and Malaysia over Sabah is a case in point. Greater effort to get the members to cooperate in a genuine tariff union, monetary grouping and even in defence are also initiatives which demand attention. When Mrs Aquino entered the conference hall she received a standing ovation. But when she let fly with what is undeniably the truth about ASEAN the response was tepid. Well, let us make it very clear. President Aquino deserved a standing ovation after her speech, an ovation for representing us all in trying to kick some life into the promises we have heard for too long.

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CSO: 4200/1178

THAILAND

NATION ARTICLE EXAMINES ELECTION PROCEDURES

BK260428 Bangkok THE NATION in English 26 Jun 86 p 4

[Article by M.R. Sukhumphan Boriphat: "Art of Khon Politics"]

[Text] As we prepare to enter the last month before the 27 July general election, it may be useful at this juncture to examine the relevance, or the irrelevance, of the present electoral process to Thailand's political development in general and to the question of political leadership in particular.

In one area, electoral politics is becoming irrelevant--that is the issue of who is to lead the task of governance after the election. The turn of events since the dissolution of Parliament on 1 May and especially since the 27 May coup d'etat by Prime Minister Prem Tinsulanon, dismissing General Athit Kamlang-ek from his post as the army commander-in-chief, clearly indicates that things are shaping up true and fast for a Prem V Government.

For one thing, the premier wishes to remain in his position, at least until the end of next year when the celebrations of the King's 60th birthday take place. His decision to dissolve Parliament for an early election should be seen, not as a reflection of his oft-repeated desire to "wash his hands of politics," but as a last-resort constitutional means of preserving the option of extending his premiership in the face of very strong opposition both inside and outside the legislature.

Had he wished for a quiet post-retirement retirement he would have simply resigned. Indeed any doubts concerning Prime Minister Prem's true preferences should be dispelled after the statement made last week by Government Spokesman Trairong Suwannakhiri, so often the premier's talking alter-ego, that General Prem should retain his premiership after the general election.

One salient feature of Thailand's political scene since the end of the 1970's is that what General Prem wishes he ultimately gets, one way or another. His blend of tenacity of will and savoir-faire for survival, already demonstrated time and again during his troubled premiership, helped to ensure the downfall of his only real rival for power, General Athit.

Tension and conflict in the armed forces still exist and for this reason "sudden changes" cannot be ruled out. However, it is also fair to say that,

after what Professor Chai-anan Samutthawanit elegantly terms a "sena-prahan" (inelegantly translatable as "a quiet coup within the bureaucratic structure") brought about by the premier on 27 May, the army is at present being run by a condominium of Prem supporters, comprising the new army chief, General Chawalit Yongchaiyut, and members of Military Academy Classes One and Five.

When the acting premier wishes to remain premier and the army is commanded by his supporters, his case becomes well-nigh irrepressible. Thais are always quick to recognize and acknowledge force majeure, and it is highly significant that despite their earlier insistence that the post-election prime minister be an elected Member of Parliament, most of the party leaders now have indicated one way or another their willingness to accept a "suitable outsider" as the next premier.

General Prem's position is strengthened by the fact that at present all political parties are impelled by their own internal dynamics to participate in the task of governance almost at any price, for only the power and prestige of office can firstly compensate for the vast financial investments ploughed into the business of getting elected and secondly preserve intra-party unity. The case of the Chat Thai Party is a poignant illustration of the strength of Prime Minister Prem's bargaining position and of the predicament in which an out-of-power political party finds itself: As has been pointed out by many knowledgeable observers, the replacement as Chat Thai leader of Praman Adireksan, a strong critic of and hence an unacceptable partner for the Premier, by his brother-in-law Chatchai Chuonhavan, who is on good terms with Prime Minister Prem and also a fellow ex-cavalry officer to boot, was to pave the way for the party to join the next coalition government. As things stand, a Prem V Government comprising the Democrats, the Chat Thai Party, the Social Action Party, the Ratsadon Party and the Ruam Thai Party and disposing of some 200-plus seats in the next Parliament is a very real possibility.

In this context, electoral politics will be relevant only in terms of determining the balance among political parties, and will leave unaffected the issue of premiership which has already been predetermined by the power play behind the scenes. Or to put it more graphically, the script has already been written, if not yet fully acted out.

However, it will be incorrect to write off the up-coming general election as being totally irrelevant. In a number of ways, it is likely to make a contribution towards Thailand's political development.

In the first place, the fact of its taking place is significant in itself. In a country where most constitutions have been short-lived (between 1932 and 1978 there had been no fewer than 12 constitutions) and general elections have come at highly irregular intervals, the holding of a general election under a constitution, which has been in force for eight years, and more or less on schedule (give and take a few months), reflects certain progress and maturity in the Kingdom's political processes.

It symbolizes the fact that despite the problems and pitfalls, democracy is still with us and that, unlike before, brute force has not been utilized in the pursuit of political ends and the settlement of political differences.

Because in politics symbols have a way of becoming a part of the political reality and because in Thailand great attention is paid to symbols, the general election of 1986 should be seen as a significant phenomenon for Thai political development.

Moreover, since democracy is a process rather [than] an end-goal, the general election taking place in Thailand, however marked it may be by violence and corruption, is significant in that it allows the people at large to participate in and become more familiar with the political process. There will be disillusionment with democracy in many quarters, but this is to be expected and certainly such a disillusionment is not confined to Thailand.

What is more important is the fact that this participatory process is taking place, (hopefully) free from the excesses of the mid-1970's and without the kind of governmental guidance or control which has dominated electoral politics in many Third World countries.

At the present, Thai politics resembles *Kon* or the masked dance based on the Ramayana story. All the main actors know, and dance in accordance with, the age-old script and style; the audience recognizes the story and applauds on cue; the whole setting is predetermined from beginning to end. Yet *Khon* is fine drama, reflecting the best of Thai culture and allowing the audience to participate in the enjoyment thereof.

Thus, although one knows the story and should not be surprised by the ending, having *Khon* to watch is infinitely better than having no *Khon* to watch at all. Or worse, having to watch B-grade horror movies full of B-grade actors running amok.

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CS0: 4200/1178

THAILAND

KHUKRIT LEAVES HOSPITAL; TO RETIRE FROM POLITICS

BK270858 Bangkok BANGKOK WORLD in English 27 Jun 86 p 32

[Excerpts] Ex-Premier M.R. Khurkrit Pramot reiterated last night that he will not accept any approach for him to become prime minister, reasoning that his poor physical health will not allow him to do so.

I'm not a normal man now but am always sick. I must have medicine by my side all the time," he said.

The former Social Action Party leader, who was in a good humour, appeared to speak from his soul upon returning to his Soi Suan Phlu home after staying at Samittiwet Hospital for 40 days for treatment.

M.R. Khukrit said that he summoned reporters to his home with the intention of letting them see with their own eyes that he was sick and not "being politically sick as some had criticised."

He said that he went to the hospital to cure his illness and not "to prepare my physical health" for the premiership. "Even my physical condition is still bad. I have to take an injection of insulin once a day and have bottles of medicine by my side." He went on: "I'm not telling lies, I'm really sick."

M.R. Khukrit recalled the days when he was in the hospital. He said while there, many persons had called on him continuously. Gen Prem Tinsulanon and Gen Chawalit Yongchaiyut also sent him flowers, he said.

Touching on politics, M.R. Khukrit said that he didn't want to make any comments and added that a move by some political groups to push him as prime minister would not be successful. "I will not accept any proposal to become prime minister. I am a sick man. Becoming a prime minister means that you have to work hard," he said.

M.R. Khukrit noted however, that there are still many persons who can become prime minister. "There are many persons who can become prime minister. To stay away from politics now is my happiness. I can't help if what I spoke could not clear suspicions in peoples' minds (accusing him of wanting to be prime minister)."

M.R. Khukrit went on: "Now I had to be careful on eating. I had to count how many calories I have taken in a day. I have had to give up smoking and drinking now." He also joked that he also had to stop "fooling around" as well.

Asked whether Gen Prem will become prime minister again, M.R. Khukrit declined to comment. "I don't want to interfere with politics now. What I would like to do most now is to go around the world," he said. I wanted to go to the United States and the United Kingdom to rest, he said.

"Good physical health contributes much to thought and thought needs a good memory. Now I am sick and my memory seems to be in a poor condition." "How can a sick man have time to give thoughts to solve the country's problems," M.R. Khukrit added.

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CSO: 4200/1178

THAILAND

CHAWALIT CURBING 'OVERGROWN' SECURITY COMMAND

BK290139 Bangkok THE NATION in English 29 Jun 86 p 3

[Text] Army Commander-in-Chief Gen Chawalit Yongchaiyut is bent on curbing the overgrown Internal Security Operations Command (ISOC) to fit the political and financial situation of the country, a senior army official said yesterday.

Acting Army Chief-of-Staff Lt Gen Wanchai Ruangtrakun said that the huge anti-communist force should assume the responsibility of planning, directing, coordinating and supervising the implementation of various projects, and that related government agencies should carry out the projects themselves.

The government agencies' roles in the implementation stage should be promoted to delete overlapping work, he said.

"ISOC has drawn on large manpower and budget by serving as the directory command and the operatives at the same time, causing a heavy burden in terms of administrative costs despite the fact that related government agencies should serve as operatives," Wanchai said.

He said that the division of labour would help strengthen relations between the people and government officials.

"This will make a direct contribution to our major policy and suit the present situation," he said.

Gen Wanchai said that Gen Chawalit in his capacity as general director of communist suppression wants the ISOC units in the capital to step up their reorganization.

Any sections or centres in ISOC which are ready to improve their own structures should proceed with the adjustments without delay, he said.

He also reaffirmed the policy of reducing the combat forces attached to ISOC units outside the capital. "The reduction of forces in provincial areas must go on and meet the targets," he said.

The annual plans must be in line with the new policy of curbing ISOC and concrete results must be achieved in this regard in the mapping out of this

year's plan, according to the chief-of-staff. "The progress must be more concrete and keep a more rapid pace than the previous year," he said.

He added that the situation now requires the authorities to shift emphasis from combatting communist insurgents in the jungles to beefing up the "strategic political fight" against communist elements in both rural and urban areas.

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CSO: 4200/1178

THAILAND

ENVOYS PROTEST GOVERNMENT PLANS TO REPRICE DRUGS

BK180825 Bangkok BANGKOK WORLD in English 18 Jun 86 pp 1, 2

[Excerpt] Ambassadors of 11 countries--including the United States, EC member nations and Switzerland--this morning submitted a memorandum expressing concern over Thailand's plan to set new prices for 370 essential drugs, senior officials reported.

The memorandum, which voiced fears that the move would affect the investment climate, was turned over to Deputy Foreign Minister Praphat Limpaphan.

An ASEAN-EC meeting opening in Singapore on Friday, among other things, is due to discuss existing constraints in ASEAN countries that affect the EC pharmaceutical industry, European officials noted in a separate interview.

Deputy Director General Krasit Phirom of the Foreign Ministry's Economic Department told reporters that it was a standing policy of the U.S. to retaliate--for example by reviewing Thailand's position in the Generalised System of Preferences--if its demands were not met.

According to Mr Praphat, the memorandum pointed out that the drugs due to be repriced dealt with 80 percent of the diseases prevalent. Mr Praphat said the 11 countries might be misinformed about the new planned pricing system. The Public Health Ministry will convene a meeting at the end of this month to discuss the average price of the drugs in question, he added. The meeting at the same time discussed the problem of intellectual property rights--covering copyrights and patent laws, Mr Praphat said.

EC member states as well as the U.S. have complained that developing countries were infringing these rights by stealing their ideas, senior officials told the WORLD.

Mr Praphat said Thailand had not sat idle on the issue and various regulations had been amended. He said he told the ambassadors that a committee made up of officials from concerned government agencies was working on the matter and considering whether Thailand should join WIPO [World Intellectual Property Rights Organisation).

The ambassadors met Mr Praphat today after failing to meet Public Health Minister Marut Bunnak yesterday, officials said.

Official sources earlier said Mr Praphat was also due to raise the problem of trade barriers and spell out Thailand's wish to widen the market it produces.

THAILAND

POST REVIEWS DEVELOPMENTS IN PHUKET TANTALUM REFINERY

BK260754 Bangkok BANKGOK POST in English 25 Jun 86 p 6

[By Wiwat Prathipchaikun]

[Text] The 2,000 million Baht Tantalum Refinery in Phuket, a Thai-Malaysian joint venture, turned to ashes after protesters ran berserk and attacked the plant with stones and set it on fire with gasoline.

The motives were confusing.

Some press reports indicated that the mob turned wild and took the laws into their own hands after Industry Minister Chirayu Itsarangkun na Ayutthaya failed to come before a scheduled hearing at the Phuket Community Hall.

Attacking the plant, it was said, was not previously in the minds of the protesters until they were enraged by the absence of Mr Chirayu at the public hearing after long hours of waiting since early morning. Other indications, however, pointed to a preconceived and well-organised move that would have taken place anyway even if the industry minister did show up.

A theory has also been put forward, saying that certain financiers whose business would be hard hit if the plant operated had hired gangs of teenagers comprising mine workers, mini-truck drivers, etc., to do the job. The supposition is backed by evidence of money dumping in the protest campaign, the numerous posters and placards, the systematic blocking of roads to prevent fire engines from getting to the scenes, the sealing of the plant exits and the use of human barricades to block the minister's motorcade from making it into town.

Other theories put the blame on politics.

However, in the end the conclusion must rest with the police whose investigation is now underway to find the real man or men who fanned up the whole sinister affair in this world-famous tourist spot.

But to us the tantalum incident gives rise to a number of questions.

Why were the government men as well as the law-enforcement officials far from being prepared to cope with the situation?

Why did they neglect to give protection to the Thailand Tantalum property when the dispute was not settled but was obviously escalating day after day?

Why didn't they arrange better security for the industry minister?

Why were there so many kannans [head of subdistricts] and puyai bans [head of small village] coming out to join the protesters?

Were there other motives involved like a plot to wreck the upcoming election?

For the people of Phuket, the Tantalum plant seemed to be what Thais called "a black sheep among the white." Nobody wanted it, it now seemed, even the ranking local government authorities. This was evident in the appearance of the kannans and village headmen in the protest because normally if they were not persuaded by those higher up, they would have hardly shown up in full force. Besides, a top local government man had emerged to say that if he had the power, he would close the plant.

Earlier, police were pulled out from the tantalum factory. The reason given was that the presence of police guards there might cause a misunderstanding among the people who might think that the Government was protecting the plant. Occasional police patrols were ordered instead.

A few days after, representatives from various groups in the island arrived in Bangkok with an ultimatum that the plant be closed. They gave 2 July as the deadline for an answer. There were also increased election campaigns by candidates exploiting the tantalum issue.

Surely all these new developments were enough for those in power there to give increased security to the plant and alert additional police forces from the neighbouring provinces to help in case of an emergency? Posting police guards at the plant, whether requested or not, is a must when the dispute is still simmering. It is too shabby for the local authorities to claim "fear of public misunderstanding" as a reason and neglect to ensure the fundamental safety of the assets of the investors. It has everything to do with responsibility and the "investment climate."

However, nothing was done but just routine patrols. Moreover, the protection given to Minister Chirayu was lackadaisical, to say the least. He was reportedly slapped in the face and pushed and booed and his police guards could do nothing to stop the crowd. It shows how slow and feeble the local authorities were in gauging the feelings of the crowd, how poorly prepared they were for what might have happened.

In fact, if all the necessary security measures were taken, the situation might not have become so serious. Mr Chirayu could have arrived for his appointment as planned and the ugly mob scenes might not have happened. Even if the public hearing should come to nought and the crowd turned wild, things might yet be quickly brought under control and the mob prevented from putting the tantalum factory to torch--if only adequate police forces had been mounted.

So who is to blame if not the local government men themselves.

It is about time, if not already too late, that the Government seriously views the matter and takes urgent steps to prevent similar recurrences elsewhere. There is fire in the ashes yet.

/12913

CSO: 4200/1178

THAILAND

BREIFs

MINISTER QUILTS CABINET--PM's [Prime Minister's] Office Minister Sawat Khamprakop tendered his resignation from the Cabinet to the Prime Minister yesterday. Mr Sawat said he was resigning to make other election candidates happy and to show his sincerity that he would not use his post to influence voters. The former Nakhon Sawan MP thanked Gen Prem Tinsulanon for his support and urged him to speed up efforts to solve national economic problems. Mr Sawat asked Gen Prem that his resignation take effect immediately. [Excerpts] [Bangkok BANGKOK POST in English 25 Jun 86 p 3 BK] /12913

BALANCE OF PAYMENTS UP--Thailand's balance of payments last month was very favourable for the fifth consecutive month, with a surplus of 5,974 million baht bringing the total surplus in January-May 1986 up to 15,462 million baht. The Bank of Thailand's chief spokeswoman Praphaphim Sakuntaphai said the total payment surplus in this year's first five months was extremely high when compared with the total payment surplus in the same period in 1985 of 4,305 million baht. This was because exports in January-May this year were up by 12 percent from the first five months in 1985, from 83,869 million baht to 93,900 million baht, while imports fell by 10.2 percent, from 114,054 million baht to 102,400 million baht. The sharp export increase and import decrease also caused the country's balance of trade to be in the red by only 8,500 million baht, significantly lower than the trade deficit of 30,185 million baht in January-May last year. [Excerpt] [Bangkok BANGKOK POST in English 19 Jun 86 p 13 BK] /12913

TRADE ACCORD WITH BANGLADESH--The Board of Trade of Thailand and the Federation of Bangladesh Chambers of Commerce and Industry have signed an agreement of cooperation. Under the agreement, the two parties will be cooperative and do their utmost to improve and expand trade. They have agreed to regularly exchange information on trade. To achieve this objective, the agreement says, it is mutually agreed that each contracting party will supply the other with trade information and publications. The two pledged every possible facility and assistance to business trade missions. Letters of introduction from one party to the other will be mutually honoured. They further pledged to assist each other in the participation in trade fairs, exhibitions and expositions. They will support and encourage exchange of trade delegations and missions as well as visits of businessmen either individually or in groups between the two countries. [Text] Bangkok THE NATION in English 25 Jun 86 p 25 BK] /12913

COMMAND REPORTS SRV ACTIONS--The Supreme Command said this morning that Vietnamese troops conducted 667 intrusions, shellings, ambushes, clashes and anti-aircraft fire during the past five months. Supreme Command Spokesman Lt Gen Wichit Bunyawat said the figures were 366 border crossings, 66 ambushes, 206 clashes, 26 intrusions to plant booby traps and six firings on Thai gunboats and aircraft. This showed that Hanoi still had ill intentions towards Thailand, he said. Lt Gen Wichit also said that intelligence also indicated that Hanoi would intensify its suppression drive against the resistance forces inside Kampuchea soon this rainy season. He said Hanoi had reinforced troops around the Tonle Sap Lake and replaced troops at the border with fresh troops from Vietnam and Kampuchea. He said that Hanoi's claim that it had gradually reduced its troops in Kampuchea was untrue. "They just sent the wounded home and replaced them with new troops," he added. [Text] [Bangkok BANGKOK WORLD in English 19 Jun 86 p 1 BK] /12913

KAREN REFUGEES FLEE--More than 700 Karen refugees fled across the border into Umphang District yesterday after Burmese forces captured four of their villages. Border Patrol Police sources said about 2,000 Burmese troops with 1,500 porters took several days to take the villages and were planning to remain in them. The refugees are staying in makeshift shelters in Ban Peong Khleong, and authorities have appealed for relief agencies to avert a likely food shortage. About 17,000 Karens have fled to Thailand since Rangoon launched its offensive against the minority rebels. [Text] [Bangkok BANGKOK POST in English 20 Jun 86 p 1 BK] /12913

COUP TRIAL ADJOURNED--The Criminal Court yesterday ordered the 9 September abortive coup trial postponed until 6 August to allow a key defendant in the case to campaign in the 27 July general election. Gen Kriangsak Chamanan, who has been freed on bail, will be able to campaign in Roi Et. The National Democracy Party leader, however, will have to appear in court on 6 August. Meanwhile Defence Lawyer Thongbai Thongpao said he would ask the court to release two other coup trial defendants so they can campaign in Bangkok. Mr Thongbai said Prathin Thamrongchai and Suchat Bunrot, both Labour Democratic Party [LDP] candidates, lacked collateral for bail. LDP leader Prasert Sapsunthon had also told him he had no money to put up as surety. Mr Thongbai said he would ask the court to temporarily release the two defendants or allow them to campaign under guard. [Text] [Bangkok BANGKOK POST in English 19 Jun 86 p 3 BK] /12913

EASTERN DEVELOPMENT PLAN REVISION--Prime Minister General Prem Tinsulanon has instructed government agencies concerned to revise the entire eastern seaboard development program. He demanded to see a definite decision on the program's viability before the end of the present government's tenure. Gen Prem gave the instructions after he returned from an official trip to the eastern seaboard, including Map Ta Phut in Rayong, and was informed of the problems delaying the implementation of the program. The agencies ordered to revise the program include the National Economic and Social Development Board, the Communications and Industry Ministries and the Industrial Estate Authority of Thailand. The revision of the program is expected to concentrate on viability of the Map Ta Phut deep seaport project regarded as the heart of the program. [Text] [Bangkok Domestic Service in English 0000 GMT 21 Jun 86 BK] /12913

JOINT MALAYSIAN ECONOMIC COMMITTEE--Thailand and Malaysia have agreed to set up a joint civilian committee to coordinate their economic relations. Deputy Prime Minister Sitthi Sawetsila told reporters before his departure to Manila that the committee will be chaired by the foreign ministers of the two countries. He said that he will raise the matter when he meets Malaysian Foreign Minister Tengku Ahmad Rithauddeen in Manila. He said he will follow up a proposal that the joint committee discusses and implements greater economic cooperation and tourism, immigration, taxes, and fisheries. Deputy Prime Minister Sitthi said that he wants to strengthen economic relations with Malaysia before the ASEAN summit which is scheduled from 9 to 11 July [1987] in Manila. [Text] [Bangkok Domestic Service in English 0000 GMT 27 Jun 86 BK] /12913

CSO: 4200/1178

MILITARY AFFAIRS AND PUBLIC SECURITY

VIETNAM

CADRES, PARTY MEMBERS URGED TO REVEAL DEFICIENCIES TO MASSES

Hanoi QUAN DOI NHAN DAN in Vietnamese 29 May 86 p2

[Article by Nguyen Ngoc and Dao Thu, Letter Box 14R-145, Ha Bac: "The Desire of the Masses"]

[Text] Through a number of units and organizations, our localities have learned, the masses welcome very much the self-criticism and criticism campaign in party organizations this time and are actively contributing views with the hope that all command and leadership levels quickly correct shortcomings in order to build more and more vigorous units. The greatest hope of the masses is that command and leadership levels clearly see the shortcomings and resolutely correct them. Yet there are not a few leadership and command levels that are making corrections slowly or even not at all. The expectation of the masses is not being met and confidence in command and leadership is sagging. There are even party committee echelons which have done self-criticism but which have not publicly reported the shortcomings to the masses or have only reported the "trivialities," indicating that the reason for the shortcoming is usually an objective one, that measures to overcome are general, unspecific, etc. For this very reason, the effect of self-criticism and criticism is not high. We would like to take this opportunity to suggest:

The weaknesses of command and leadership should be clarified and publicly reported to the masses. Do not conceal shortcomings and do not be afraid to "reveal" the weaknesses to the masses.

When arranging for the masses to criticize we must be genuinely receptive, and their recommendations must be properly dealt with. For cases which must be specifically looked into, notify the masses so they know. If violations of discipline are at the point that they must be dealt with, inform the masses as well; don't simply handle internally, fearful of "rocking the boat." In analyzing the shortcomings in command and leadership, we should critically indicate the subjective reason and clearly designate the responsibility of each cadre for the task assigned. Only when the reason for the weaknesses and shortcomings is found can there be satisfactory measures to overcome.

The expectation of the masses should be met, i.e., cadres and party members must actively correct shortcomings immediately. Because of this, each party committee echelon, cadre and party member must set forth measures for overcoming shortcomings which are specific and avoid generalities. Only in this way will the self-criticism and criticism campaign achieve practical results and the masses have confidence in party committee echelons, cadres and party members, creating high unified solidarity between command, leadership, cadres, party members and the masses.

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CSO: 4209/630

MILITARY AFFAIRS AND PUBLIC SECURITY

VIETNAM

IMPROVEMENT IN QUALITY OF MILITARY TRAINING IN COLLEGES URGED

Hanoi QUAN DOI NHAN DAN in Vietnamese 30 May 86 pp 1,4

[Editorial: "Improve the Quality of Military Training for College Students"]

[Text] Colleges are now in the process of developing annual military training tasks, an activity that has become a way to attract the ample participation of teachers and students. In recent years a number of military subjects in colleges have done the job correctly and started to introduce the military education and training system into the overall operational system of the school. This has contributed to boosting the quality of training in schools and made it possible for scientific and technical cadres to improve military qualifications and take part in strengthening national defense. In a number of schools, however, there still are instances of students who are not enthralled with military training and who do not devote attention to military science and technical research. In instruction there remain segments of study that are dull, superficial, and unscientific in nature and that do not engender interest in the student.

As in other fields of knowledge, military knowledge demands highly systematized characteristics. Therefore, to improve the quality of military education and training for college students, it is first of all necessary to organize good instruction and study of military subjects in general and middle schools, and carry out the level 1 general military program with a view toward creating a foundation for good study of the level 2 general military program in colleges and satisfactory acceptance of the reserve officer training program. These programs are linked into a block of knowledge having focus and inherent and improved qualities, bearing modern science and traditional characteristics, and satisfying the requirement to train technical specialist cadres at the primary level. Only in this way can scientific and technical cadres support the task of building and defending the fatherland, and effectively support specialized sectors in the branches of service and arms of the army.

In the process of putting training into practice, organizational efforts must be extremely specific and scientific from setting up the curriculum, assigning instructors, and designating training

units to ensuring training material. Instructors who firmly grasp the subject matter and substance of training should know how to make full use of the educational results of other scientific subjects in order to expand the educational results of military training. Alongside the main training curriculum, there should be supplemental educational curricula such as the introduction of a number of military administration, military history, and military geography combined with the socioeconomic geography of military science and technology; arrange for fourth and fifth year students to participate in researching solution of specific problems in military techniques. These activities will stimulate enthusiasm in research and study, create scientific research habits in students, and contribute to boosting the educational results of military training.

The instruction quality of ranks of instructors is one of the important factors in determining the quality of training. Schools should have plans to improve the qualifications of instructors through short-term training programs consisting of new scientific and technical applications in the military field to improve knowledge about new equipment along with fighting methods and combat experience. The knowledge and learning of the military instructor must be continuously augmented through sources of military scientific information from our army and the world. The college's military science should have scientific research programs, cooperate and be connected with other scientific subjects in studying specific, practical subjects, support training instructors and combat, and compete for the assistance of branches and arms of service, of students and advanced military schools in order to continuously improve the quality of military instruction in colleges.

6915

CSO: 4209/630

PARTY ACTIVITIES AND GOVERNMENT

VIETNAM

MAI CHI THO GIVES SPEECH ON INTERNATIONAL LABOR DAY

Ho Chi Minh City SAIGON GIAI PHONG in Vietnamese 1 May 86 pp 1, 3

[Speech by Mai Chi Tho, a member of the VCP Central Committee and Deputy Secretary of the Municipal Party Committee, at a meeting of the Ba Son workers to commemorate the 100th International Labor Day and 30 April: "The Working Class and the Trade Union Echelons Must Positively Contribute Opinions During the Self-Criticism and Criticism Campaign, Positively Participate in Building the Party and Renovating the Economic Management Mechanism"]

[Text] Dear comrade Pham Hung, member of the Political Bureau and Vice Chairman of the Council of Ministers.

Dear comrades,

This year the municipal party organization and trade union federation have organized here a meeting to commemorate the liberation on 30 April and, especially, to commemorate the 100th International Labor Day on 1 May, because Ba Son is a revolutionary cradle of the Vietnamese working class, the place where Uncle Ton was a worker and participated in revolutionary activities, and the place where he formed our country's first red trade union. The city's first party chapter was also formed here.

Ba Son is also a place which has year after year fulfilled its plans to serve national defense, has instituted a new management mechanism, has been awarded a Third Class Military Merit Medal by the Council of State, and is worthy of the pride of the city's working class and laboring people.

Dear comrades,

The history of 1 May is the bloody and extremely glorious history of the world working class and our Vietnamese working class.

One hundred years ago, on 1 May 1886, in the city of Chicago, a large American industrial and commercial center, in a bloody demonstration the working class, for the first time demanded an 8-hour working day. Three years later, on 20 July 1889, the Second Communist International, meeting in Paris, the French capital, approved a decision making 1 May of every year a day of common demonstrations by the working class against the capitalists.

The struggle of the working class, which developed more and more strongly, led to an event of an extremely important event: the Russian October Revolution.

With the Russian October Revolution, for the first time in the world the working class took political power, set up a proletarian dictatorship, eliminated class suppression and national suppression at their roots, and set up a just, prosperous, and happy socialist regime. Continuing along the path of the October Revolution, the working class and people of many countries took political power and formed a powerful socialist community, which is a decisive factor in the development of the society of mankind.

In Vietnam, because of the colonial exploitation policy of the French colonialists, the working class emerged even before the native bourgeois class and gained control of the key sectors and economic installations.

The Vietnamese workers, people who lost their country realized readily and at an early date that imperialism was their national and class enemy, so they waved their vanguard banner in the national liberation and class liberation struggle. Since most of the workers were of impoverished peasant origin, the Vietnamese working class had favorable conditions for achieving a worker-peasant alliance to form a solid foundation on which to rally and unify the other classes and strata and hold high the banner of national independence and socialism.

The Prouder We Are of Our Tradition, the More We Must Endeavor To Contribute to the Socialist Revolution

Our city can be proud of being one of the first centers of the struggle movement of the working class, and of being the first to accept Marxism-Leninism, which was brought to Vietnam by Uncle Ho. In 1905 Saigon had 2,000 workers. In 1912 there was a strike by the workers of the Ba Son factory. In 1920 Uncle Ton Duc Thang founded the Red Trade Union, which encompassed many installations in Saigon. In 1925 the Ba Son Red Trade Union organized a strike to support the Chinese proletarian revolution which broke out in Canton. Uncle Ho, who joined the working class at an early date, by means of his ardently patriotic heart and wise revolutionary outlook, adopted Marxism-Leninism and affirmed that "In order to save the nation and liberate the people, there is no other path than that of the proletarian revolution." The revolutionary thought of Uncle Ho illuminated each forward step of the working class and people of Vietnam, formed the Party of the Vietnamese working class, and advanced the working class to the vanguard position of the Vietnamese revolution.

Beginning immediately after it was founded, the Vietnam Communist Party adopted the policy that the party members implementing the slogan of "proletarianization" in order to forge their standpoints and moral qualities, and gave rise to a broad revolutionary high tide throughout the nation on the occasion of International Labor Day, 1 May 1930.

On 1 May 1930, in Saigon-Cho Lon and in the Nam Bo provinces there took place 12 large workers' struggles. Especially, the workers in the city of Saigon mobilized tens of thousands of peasants outside the city to coordinate in creating strong pressure to force the French imperialists to make concessions.

Our city had the honor of being the location of the Party Central Committee just after it was formed, so many leadership cadres were active in the city's workers movement. Comrade Tran Phu, the first General Secretary, comrades Ngo Gia Tu, Le Hong Phong, Nguyen Van Cu, Le Duan, Nguyen Thi Minh Khai, etc., and many other comrades guided the workers movement in developing in the right direction. Under the leadership of the Party, throughout the period of revolutionary activity up to the August General Uprising and in the two sacred resistance wars against France and the United States, the working class in the city formed an alliance with the peasants and created broad solidarity with the other patriotic classes and strata. That was the strength which determined all victories of the revolutionary movement in the city. Among the ranks of heroes of the city's workers there are people of whom the class and the nation are proud, such as Uncle Ton Duc Thang, comrades Nguyen Van Nghi, Ly Chinh Thang, Nguyen Dinh Chinh, Nguyen Van Troi, Tran Van Dang, Tran Quoc Thao, Tran Van Kieu, Pham Van Hai, Nguyen Van Kiem, etc.

In the historic Ho Chi Minh campaign the workers arose to take over the enterprises, protect and operate the machinery, and maintain a stable pace in the city. It was remarkable that we liberated the entire city and all of the South on the occasion of International Labor Day, 30 April-1 May 1985.

Dear comrades,

Reviewing the history of glorious struggle of the world working class and Vietnamese working class, we are even more proud of the historical victory of an epochal nature on 30 April 1975, a day which began a new era for the Vietnamese people and working class, one in which they would become the masters of their destiny throughout a unified country, and a day which signified the unavoidable complete collapse of neocolonialism, just as the Dien Bien Phu victory began the period of disintegration of the old colonialism. Every year our city's working class commemorates the historical 30 April date its feels increasingly proud and increases its efforts to, along with the people and workers of all circles in the city and throughout the nation to overcome all difficulties and hardships in order to build socialism and defend the socialist Fatherland, for the happiness of the workers of today and of future generations of their children and grandchildren.

Dear comrades,

During 11 years of liberation the workers and civil servants have competed in production labor and economizing, positively participated in the great undertaking of transforming industry, commerce, and agriculture, overcome the serious consequences of the war and of old-style and new-style colonialism, done a good job of fulfilling their international obligations toward the city of Phnom Penh and the people of Cambodia, and contribute worthily to the great undertaking of building and defending the socialist fatherland.

Under the leadership of the party organization, immediately after the liberation the Municipal Trade Union Federation rallied, organized, and educated the workers, civil servants, and workers in order to heighten their consciousness of collective mastership.

The workers, who in the past had hired out their labor, now clearly understand their responsibility to serve as collective masters, work enthusiastically and creatively, contribute innovations, improve techniques, and protect the nation's property, such as Nguyen Thi Hai, Pham Hoai, Huynh Van Vang, Chau Thi Kim, etc.

In the growth of the class, there has been a rapid increase in the number of young workers, such as Tran Thi Be Bay, Nguyen Thi Nhat Tan, etc., who now account for more than 60 percent of the total number of workers and are assault forces in the production labor and enterprise protection movement.

Workers and laborers who are members of religious groups or Chinese and who struggled against the U.S.-puppet regime in the past now work side by side with the other members of the working class and unite with one another in building and defending the Fatherland.

Two hundred thousand small industry-handicrafts workers have made the great contribution of producing 50 percent of the total value of industrial and small industry-handicrafts output. Of that total, 170,000 have been brought into the Cooperative Labor Association.

The working class endured and overcame the difficult 1978-1980 period, adhered closely to their machines and factories, came forth with innovations, produced their own spare parts, reorganized their technical procedures in order to use domestic raw materials, dismantled restrictive mechanisms, and gradually enabled the basic level to take the initiative.

During the recent period the initiatives taken to dismantle the old economic management mechanism in the city and create a new one contributed to the drafting of Resolution 6 of the Party Central Committee (fourth term) and resolutions 6, 7, and 8 of the Party Central Committee (fifth term).

The ranks of the workers and civil servants were built up and grew rapidly. In 1975 we had 189,000 workers and civil servants, 48 percent were trade union members, in 1,200 installations. Their numbers have increased to 350,000, more than 98 percent of whom are trade union members, in 2,673 installations. In 1981 only a few more than 200 installations held conferences so that workers and civil servants could participate in drafting and discussing plan implementation measures, but in 1985 2,181 installations did so. In 1976 the workers and civil servants came forth with 3,500 innovations. Recently, on the average every year they have come forth with tens of thousands of innovations. The movement for workers to come forth with innovations and economize has saved the state hundreds of millions of dong every year and resulted in steadily increasing the total value of industrial and small industry-handicrafts production, and average annual increase of 17 percent.

When reviewing the maturization of the city's workers it is necessary to emphasize that the worker-peasant alliance, which began to take form on 1 May 1930, is now being developed and consolidated in a new phase. In each forward step the workers, civil servants, and workers in the city have endeavored to serve agriculture and expand the form of brotherhoods between enterprises and agricultural production cooperatives and collectives, or between inner city precincts and districts outside the city or provinces. The movement to serve water conservancy and the production of agricultural hand implements, and the movement to form economic alliances and joint operations between the enterprises and sectors in the city and the Mekong Delta Provinces have attracted the energy of the city's workers and civil servants, in order to build material-technical bases for agriculture, by means of the two-way exchange of goods, etc. The working class has helped the people create conditions for helping the workers enter onto the path of collective livelihood, separate themselves from the private merchants, and contribute increasingly greater quantities of raw materials for industry. The worker-peasant alliance has developed profoundly political and economically.

In caring for and forging working class, in addition to the good points the party organization and the trade union echelons have revealed important deficiencies that must be amended.

The accomplishments of the workers cannot be separated from the leadership of the Party and the contributions of the sections, sectors, and mass organizations, but in addition to the good points there have been revealed in the Party's leadership a number of serious deficiencies which must be corrected.

Our Party organization has had principal deficiencies in caring for and forging the working class, such as not remaining close to the workers, not fully bringing into play the collective mastership right of the people, not doing a good job of carrying out education regarding communist ideals to enable the working class to be worthy of its vanguard role in the revolutionary movement in the city, not building truly strong trade union organizations, and not having a policy and mechanism for cultivating and training advanced workers and emulation warriors.

The party organization at all echelons and the party members in the governmental administration and mass organizations have not yet set aside sufficient time for direct contact with the workers. Because they have little contact with the workers, the forging of a working class standpoint on the part of party members in the city's party organization has weakened in comparison to the period in which the Party adopted its "proletarianization" policy. While the Party has political power, if it does remain close to the workers it will be difficult to overcome bureaucratism. Bureaucratism causes the Party organization not to pay adequate attention to opinions and aspirations and not to rally the intelligence of the worker masses. Therefore, the Party organization's policy has not yet met the requirements and developed the strength of the workers in production and in improving living conditions. We must realize that concern for the lives of workers is not a matter of bestowing favors and is not merely a matter of showing concern. The Party is concerned with the lives of workers primarily to raise

their consciousness, and has policies and stands that are appropriate to the actual situation in order to create all favorable conditions and encourage the workers to develop their capability to production labor and economizing in order to produce much wealth for society and improve their lives and those of their families.

The Party organization has not yet done a good job of bringing the collective mastership right of the workers into play in the social spheres and even at the basic level. The "quadrumvirate," consisting of the Party committee, the board of directors, the trade union executive committee, and the Communist Youth Union executive committee of the basic unit, has not yet coordinated closely in implementing the lines and policies of the Party and creating all conditions so that the workers can serve as the masters by participating in drafting plans, managing machinery and raw materials, sharing salary and bonus money, and using welfare funds. The "quadrumvirate" has not carried out continuous criticism and self-criticism and struggled against such negative phenomena as seeking vengeance against and bullying the workers. The party committees have not yet led the trade union in enforcing laws. In some places there exists the situation of the party committee secretaries, trade union secretaries, and Youth Union secretaries not daring to struggle, or following the lead of the director in covering up negative phenomena, and do not protect the legitimate rights of the workers. The workers' complaints are not resolved at the basic level, but many are passed from one echelon to another and from one sector to another, and wheels spin for a long time without any results.

The Party organization and the trade union echelons do not have plans and measures for teaching the basic political contents to workers. The educational contents are still superficial and general, and do not yet rationally combine theory with the responsibility of the workers in the enterprises. Because of failure to show truly good concern for the material and cultural lives of the workers, especially with regard to those who are encountering many difficulties, as promised to the Chairman of the Council of Ministers, which has prevented the workers from realizing their vanguard role in the enterprise of socialist construction and transformation, in order to raise their class consciousness and socialist consciousness.

The low level of consciousness and consciousness of collective mastership on the part of some workers and civil servants is a good environment for nurturing bureaucratic, arbitrary habits on the part of degenerate party members and cadres who have positions and authority.

The trade union echelons in the city are making many all-out efforts and have made notable accomplishments, but they are not yet truly strong and cannot be said to be truly worthy of being links which connect the Party with the worker masses, or of being a socialist school for the working class. The Party committee echelons do not yet realize that building a strong trade union is one of their responsibilities. The basic trade union organizations have not yet improved their operational methods or rallied, educated, and organized the workers to promote the revolutionary activity movement. In many places the trade union activities are still bureaucratic and administrative and are characterized by bureaucratism and formalism.

Our city has a very large corps of advanced workers and emulation warriors, which is a source of pride for the party organization and the people. For a long time now the only thing that has been done for such people has been to report on them at conferences and organize receptions for them. The municipal party organization and governmental administration do not yet have a policy and a mechanism to reward them materially, or cultivate and train them so that they can become future cadres for the Party, the governmental administration, and the mass organizations.

The missions in the immediate future:

Dear comrades,

Our working class has contributed worthily to the efforts, struggles, and great accomplishments of the city during the past 11 years, which are worthy of pride. We are now facing severe difficulties with regard to the economy, living conditions, and a number of other spheres. Worthy of attention are the mistakes and deficiencies in guidance of the implementation of Resolution 8 of the Party Central Committee regarding prices, salaries, and money, which brought about serious consequences with regard to the economy, society, production, circulation, and life. Our party and state have applied positive policies and measure to overcome those problems in order to stabilize the economic-social situation and living conditions and enable our city to make new developmental advances.

The Municipal Party Committee appeals for the city's working class to bring into play their tradition of solidarity, revolutionary ardor, and initiative and creativity in organizing the fulfillment of the following missions:

1. Continuing to promote the mission to develop initiatives, improve technology, and introduce scientific advancements and technical improvements into production in order to produce many products, lower production costs, economize in the use of raw materials and overcome our present severe difficulties with regard to raw materials, fuel, materials, and energy in order to produce many products for society. We must produce with increasingly greater productivity, quality, and effectiveness and achieve increasingly greater accumulation to improve living conditions, and develop the nation.

In addition to developing initiatives and improving techniques, the working class and the Trade Union echelons must positively build and renovate the economic management mechanism, especially at the basic level, in order to ensure the right of the basic level to take the initiative with regard to production and commerce, in accordance with the resolution of the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee.

That is a foremost mission of the working class. By fulfilling that mission well the working class can contribute worthily to the development of the city's industrial-handicrafts production, reorganize production, develop the industrial sectors, and gradually industrialize the nation. By fulfilling that mission well, the working class can contribute to gradually stabilizing the market and prices and contribute to strengthening and consolidating the worker-peasant alliance.

2. The Secretariat of the Party Central Committee set forth three requirements for criticism and self-criticism by the party organizations in the first phase of the first phase of the process of holding congresses:

- a. With regard to moral quality, virtue, and a pure, wholesome way of life.
- b. With regard to the leadership style, in accordance with the principles of democratic centralism, internal democracy, and a work style that is close to the basic level, close to the actual situation, and close to the masses.
- c. With regard to the cadre policy, especially fairness and justice in promoting, assigning, training, giving preferential treatments to, rewarding, and disciplining cadres.

The Standing Committee of the Municipal Party Committee has also set five requirements for criticism and self-criticism by the Municipal Party Committee, which were published in the press:

- a. Opposition to bureaucratism.
- b. Renovating the mechanism.
- c. Renovating organization.
- d. Renovating cadres (enabling cadres to have new, correct consciousness and to replace cadres who lack moral quality, obstinately refuse to correct themselves, and are incapable.)
- e. Simultaneously carrying out the three revolutions in building and transforming the city.

By means of criticism and self-criticism it is necessary to attain the following goals:

Enabling the Party organization to be pure and strong and restricting to the maximum extent and eliminate negative phenomena, so that it can be a party organization with revolutionary ardor and a strong revolutionary offensive will.

The Municipal Party Committee requests the city's people, especially the working class, to contribute opinions to the party organization echelons, from the Municipal Party Committee on down, and especially to contribute opinions to the Party committee, the board of directors, the trade union and Youth Union executive committees at the basic level. In some places the "quadrumvirate" has carried out its work well, but in other places the board of directors has led the entire "quadrumvirate" into negative acts which violate moral qualities and virtue, corruption, collusion, and the adoption of a way of life of enjoyment, distance from the masses, and harassing and suppressing the positive elements. There are also places in which a component of the "quadrumvirate" disagrees but is passive and does not struggle. During the present criticism and self-criticism campaign, the Municipal Party Committee hopes that the working class and the trade union will positively and

bravely contribute to overcoming the above-mentioned deficiencies in order to bring about a strong transformation in the city's situation.

With consciousness of collective mastership and a spirit of building the Party, the working class and trade union echelons must positively contribute opinions about Party building in the course of self-criticism and criticism by the party organization echelons in preparation for the Party Congress. The working class must regard the Party Congress as a congress of its class. It must positively contribute opinions to the draft report and to the coming missions and goals, and must contribute to the collective and individual leadership of the Party committee, the branch committee, and the board of directors. In general, they must contribute to building the organizational apparatus and to building the "quadrumvirate" (the Party, the governmental administration, the Trade Union, and the Communist Youth Union) at the basic level, so that the enterprises, factories, corporations, stores, organs, and units can be strong and pure. It must struggle to restrict and repulse the negative phenomena.

By contributing opinions to the party congresses at all levels and building and consolidating the basic-level apparatus, it is necessary to determine and strengthen the sense of responsibility of the working class and of the trade union organization.

3. Contributing to consolidating and strengthening the worker-peasant alliance of the working class and the peasant class in the areas outside the city and in the region. The working class must study the needs, organize production, and exchange their products (by means of socialist commerce) in order to meet the peasants' requirements with regard to production means and consumer good and by that means control grain and agricultural products to meet their own needs and those of the city. By that method, the working class, the small industry-handicraft workers, and the peasant class can gradually separate themselves from the private merchants and itinerant merchants, and contribute to the great undertaking of socialist transformation and market and price management.

By means of closely combining science and technology with production, and the culture-and-arts movements, the working class has drawn socialist intellectuals (scientific-technical cadres and artists) into the ranks of workers, so that they can be active in the workers movement.

4. Our city is one of the focal points of sabotage by the reactionaries in the Beijing ruling circles and the intellectual reactionaries. Therefore, the working class, along with the entire population, must serve as the collective masters in maintaining political security and social safety, in consolidating and strengthening national defense, and in building and defending the Fatherland. The working class must uncover, promptly explain, and smash the enemy's psychological warfare arguments in the enterprises and residential areas. It must organize the good protection of socialist property, do a good job of meeting national defense needs, and educating and encouraging their children to fulfill their military obligations.

5. Manifest a spirit of proletarian internationalism, of solidarity and close cooperation with the Soviet Union and the socialist community, especially solidarity and cooperation with Cambodia and Laos, brotherhood with Phnom Penh, Vieng Chan, Leningrad, Leipzig, Bratislava, etc., and solidarity with the peace, progress, and democracy movement in the world.

6. The trade union at all echelons must oppose the administrative, bureaucratic, and red-tape working methods. They must remain close to the basic level, strengthen their guidance, and help the basic trade union units operate effectively and attain the goals and missions that have been delineated.

On the part of the municipal party organization, it is necessary to overcome the shortcomings and deficiencies mentioned above. Especially, the Party committee echelons and the governmental administration echelons must set aside time to go to the basic level on a regular basis, meet with the workers, and work with the trade union and the trade union and the cooperative labor association, especially at the basic level.

The Party committee echelons must have annual plans, evaluate the strengths and weaknesses of the trade union echelons and basic-level trade union, and on that basis take steps to help the trade union organizations.

It is necessary to recapitulate the situation of the implementation of decrees 182 and 217 of the Council of State regarding the implementation of the workers and civil servants, on the basis of which to draft specific mechanisms and regulations to ensure and develop that collective mastership right.

By means of the capabilities and combined strength of the echelons and sectors, including the trade union, maximum efforts must be made to ensure. They must guide the trade union echelons and heads of the organs and units in learning about and making a list of workers, civil servants, and families who are encountering many difficulties, so that there can be plans to help them. the trade union must continually report to the party committee echelons, which must investigate the fulfillment of that requirement.

The party committee echelons, the people's committees, the trade unions, and the emulation committees at all levels must draft plans and promulgate and supplement policies to train, cultivate, and reward the heroes, warriors of emulation, and advanced workers and laborers who make many accomplishments.

Dear comrades,

One hundred years have passed since 1 May 1886, the day of the resolute struggle of the workers of Chicago. The world situation has changed in a manner entirely favorable for the working class to advance to controlling their destiny on this planet.

However, in Chicago, which is the birth place of 1 May and is in the United States, the fate of the working class to serve as hired labor has not changed. The U.S. warmongers are feverishly seeking all ways to draw the reactionary leaders among the Western capitalist powers to join in the arms race and

threaten mankind with the specter of nuclear war. They intend to spend 500 billion dollars on the "star wars" program. Recently they have brazenly committed aggression against Libya and threatened Nicaragua.

The Soviet Union, which has a sense of responsibility toward civilization and the well-being of mankind, has unilaterally stopped testing nuclear weapons and announced a positive program to do away with nuclear weapons by the year 2000.

In reply to the good will of the Soviet Union, the United States has carried out 10 nuclear tests and has announced that it will carry out 15 additional tests in 1986.

Recently the World Trade Union Federation, on behalf of its 200 million members, demanded the cessation of nuclear testing on the earth, and has appealed for the workers and trade union members of the world to, on the occasion of 1 May 1986, demand the resolution of the key problems regarding the lives of workers, poverty, unemployment, social injustice, and illiteracy.

Peace, independence, freedom, and social justice are goals which the working class and people of Vietnam, under the leadership of the Vietnam Communist Party, attained only after half a century of sacrifice and combat. This year is the year of international struggle to defend peace. On the occasion of this glorious historical anniversary, we express solidarity with the working class and laboring people of the world in staying the war-loving hands of the U.S. imperialists and all kinds of international reactionaries, ardently support the line of the CPSU to defend peace, strengthen solidarity among Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia, strengthen solidarity with the movement for peace, progress, and democracy, maintain peace and stability in Indochina, Southeast Asia, and the world, and vehemently condemn the aggressive gangster acts of the United States against Libya and Nicaragua.

Dear comrades,

Bringing into play the heroic tradition of the party organization, the governmental administration, the mass organizations, and the laboring people of the city, we are determined to advance, overcome difficulties, victoriously fulfill the 1986 economic-social missions, and achieve accomplishments to contribute positively to the victory of the Sixth Party Congress and the Fourth Congress of the Municipal Party Organization.

5616

CSO: 4209/615

PARTY ACTIVITIES AND GOVERNMENT

VIETNAM

ORGANIZATION DEPARTMENT ISSUES GUIDELINES ON IMPLEMENTING RESOLUTION 42

Haiphong HAIPHONG in Vietnamese 4 Mar 86 pp 2, 3

[Unattributed report: "Guidelines of the Organization Department of the Municipal CPV Committee on a Number of Points for Implementing Resolution 42 of the Standing Committee of the Municipal CPV Committee, Which Gives Provisional Stipulations on Decentralizing and Controlling Organizational and Cadre Work"]

[Text] Implementing Resolution No 42 of the Standing Committee of the Municipal CPV Committee, which gives provisional stipulations on decentralizing organizational and cadre work, the Organization Department of the Municipal CPV Committee has provided the following guidelines on a number of specific problems. (This document does not mention the problems for which the Organization Department and the municipal authorities have already provided guidelines).

I. Concretizing a Number of Decentralization Themes

1. Decisions to be made by the Municipal CPV Committee:

a. On party organization: The decisions on organizing the party apparatus are to be carried out according to the administrative unit and the work unit (Article 11, Chapter 2, CPV Statutes). Specifically:

The Municipal CPV Committee will make decisions on establishing, dividing, annexing, and dissolving district and ward party organizations, party organizations above the primary level, and commercial production installation party organizations (party chapters) directly controlled by the Municipal CPV Committee. When a decision is made on an organizational aspect pertaining to a party organization that is directly controlled by the Municipal CPV Committee, this will be disclosed publicly.

Transfer of party organizations: In cases in which party organizations (party chapters) that are directly controlled by the Municipal CPV Committee are transferred to a district or ward party organization, block party organization, or commercial production installation party organization or in which these party organizations and party chapters are to be transferred to other district, ward, or block party organizations, the Organization

Department of the Municipal CPV Committee must receive authorization from the Standing Committee of the Municipal CPV Committee. After studies have been conducted and reports have been sent to and approved by the Standing Committee of the Municipal CPV Committee, notices must be issued to have the party organizations concerned carry this out.

Rosters: "For large production installations that are important for political, economic, or national defense reasons" (Section 1, Part I) and that are directly subordinate to the Municipal CPV Committee, notices will be sent directly to the units after production organization has been rearranged based on the resolution of the 8th Plenum of the CPV Central Committee and Resolution No 38 of the Municipal CPV Committee.

b. On cadres:

The Municipal CPV Committee controls cadres mainly on the basis of function. All matters concerning transferring, assigning, training, giving raises to, rewarding, and disciplining those cadres whose salaries are based on the stipulations but who are directly controlled by the Municipal CPV Committee (Point D, Section 1, Part II, Resolution 42) will be decided by the Standing Committee of the Municipal CPV Committee.

In general, when there are problems at an agency or unit concerning the organization of the apparatus or cadres directly controlled by the Municipal CPV Committee, the head of that agency or unit must submit the matter to the Standing Committee of the Municipal CPV Committee for a decision. The Municipal People's Committee will systematize state matters if this concerns technical authorities.

2. Decisions to be made by the district and ward party echelons and the municipal committees, sectors, mass organizations, and federations (Section 2, Party I, Resolution 42):

a. On organization:

On party organization: The district and ward CPV committees, the CPV committees above the primary level, and the basic CPV committees controlled by the Municipal CPV Committee (federated corporations, federated enterprises, enterprises, and corporations) may make decisions on dividing, annexing, and establishing village and subward party organizations and enterprise, corporation, school, and hospital party organizations (party chapters) subordinate to their party organization based on the stipulations in the party statutes.

For organizations within the state management system (such as the internal affairs, public health, and education sectors), things must be carried out based on their functions and powers. The higher echelon organizations with authority are to make the decisions. Decisions on organizational matters cannot be made at one's convenience.

Decisions may be made on organizing commercial production organizations based on the guidelines in Point A, sections 2 and 3, Resolution 42.

b. On cadres (Point B, Section 2, Party I):

Service directors, committee chairmen, and the heads of sectors, municipal-level mass organizations, federated corporations, federated enterprises, corporations, and enterprises directly controlled by the Municipal CPV Committee (there is a separate roster for commercial production installations) have the power to appoint, assign, and set salaries for cadres serving as the heads of directly-subordinate units and other cadres having salary levels based on the stipulations. When a decision is issued, the documents must be submitted to the Organization Department of the Municipal CPV Committee, which will follow and integrate things. Decisions regarding technical and administrative cadres must be submitted to Organization Department of the municipal administration.

Before making a decision on setting salaries for cadres, an effort must be made to elevate their spirit of responsibility. Also, an all-round evaluation must be made, and a balance must be established in the sectors and units and throughout the city based on the principles, procedures, and time limits stipulated by the general procedures and policies and the city.

3. Decisions to be made by the primary level installations:

a. On organization:

Party organization: The executive committees of the basic party organizations (village, subward, federated corporation, federated enterprise, enterprise, corporation, and so on) may issue decisions on establishing dividing, and annexing subordinate party organizations and party chapter elements. Party bases with more than 30 party members may establish a party organization. Party organizations with a very large membership may establish branch party organizations. Below the branch party organizations, party chapters can be established at the production units and teams. If there are fewer than 30 party members, a party chapter is to be formed. Higher echelon CPV committees are to make decisions on establishing party organizations and party chapters at lower echelons. (For example, a village party committee may decide whether to establish a branch party organization (or party chapter) at an industrial-agricultural-commercial cooperative or a party chapter at a production unit.)

Organization: The authorities, mass organizations at the bases subject to the authority of higher echelons, and parallel sectors may make decisions based on the general stipulations of the party, state, and mass organizations and based on decentralization as recorded in Resolution 42 of the Standing Committee of the Municipal CPV Committee.

b. On cadres: The commercial production installations and professional units (Section 4, Party II, Resolution 42) include enterprises, corporations, and units subordinate to federated enterprises and federated corporations (or their equivalent). The directors of the independent accounting installations have the power to issue decisions on organizing offices, committees, and work shops, appointing people to positions--from deputy director on down--and appointing specialists and cadres having salary levels based on the stipulations. (The commercial production installations directly controlled by

the Municipal CPV Committee can set salaries for the cadres based on the stipulations.)

4. Selecting cadres, workers, and civil servants to go study and work abroad:

Secretariat Directive No 94 CT-TW of 30 June 1980 clearly stipulates that the Organization Department of the Central Committee will screen and recommend cadres and personnel (including people outside the party) on the staffs of party and state agencies...." So that the Organization Department of the Municipal CPV Committee can help the Organization Department of the Central Committee carry out the tasks, the agencies and units that have requested confirmation for cadres and employees going abroad must make plans and rosters in accord with the stipulations and submit them to the Organization Department of the Municipal CPV Committee (Party Protection Section) at least 1 week in advance if the person is going to a socialist country and at least 2 weeks in advance if the person is going to a capitalist country.

For workers who are going abroad to work on contract, the Municipal Labor Service is responsible for handling matters and setting dates. It must send a notice to the Organization Department of the Municipal CPV Committee informing it of the number and quality of the workers sent so that the data can be integrated.

Controlling cadres who serve as captains, political officers, and chief engineers on ocean-going ships is the responsibility of the party committee echelon and head of the unit that owns the ship. Every 3 months, the party committee must hold a meeting to discuss the situation and submit a report to the Organization Department of the Municipal CPV Committee (Party Protection Section) for monitoring.

5. Paying wages to cadres who are engaged full time in party, trade union, and youth activities based on the wage funds and on the commercial production results of the production installations is aimed at tying the full-time cadres of the party and mass organizations to the commercial production tasks even more closely in implementing the new management mechanism. The parallel higher-echelon sectors still have the authority to make decisions on transferring and assigning people, setting wages, and training people based on the stipulations now in force.

Before making a decision, the sectors must discuss things with the production installations. The directors of the commercial production installations are responsible for implementing the guidelines of higher-echelon sectors, making financial plans, ensuring that the wages, bonuses, allowances, and other essential expenses are paid, and maintaining the normal activities of the party organizations, trade unions, and youth union at the production installations.

While waiting to achieve unity between the Municipal CPV Committee and the central ministries and managing sectors, the enterprise party organizations, the central agencies subordinate to the Municipal CPV Committee, and the

district and ward CPV committees must continue to maintain the wage system and financial disbursement procedures now in use if the money allocated by the party has not yet been transferred to the financial funds of the commercial production installations.

6. Transferring and accepting cadres (Section 7, Part II): All cadres who are subordinate to the Municipal CPV Committee (including party, administrative, and mass organization cadres) are subject to the decisions of the Standing Committee of the Municipal CPV Committee (the Organization Department of the Municipal CPV Committee integrates the reports). When transferring cadres to or from party committees, the committees that have been given the power to make decisions must discuss the matter with the Organization Department of the Municipal CPV Committee at least 1 week in advance.

As for party and mass organization cadres who are not directly subordinate to the Municipal CPV Committee, the Standing Committee of the Municipal CPV Committee has authorized the Organization Department to conduct studies and make decisions on accepting and transferring cadres (including cadres transferred from other provinces and cities, cadres transferred to Haiphong from central agencies, and cadres transferred from Haiphong).

II. A Number of Points on Implementation

1. Organizing to study and thoroughly understand the resolutions: The party committee echelons and sectors, from the city to the production installations, must make plans to study and explain the resolutions to the key cadres in subordinate sectors and production installations, organizational cadres, and other cadres with related responsibilities. The recent accomplishments, shortcomings, and weaknesses of the units in carrying out this work must be reviewed. Then, a document containing specific stipulations must be drafted in order to implement the resolutions throughout the sector, in each production installation, and in the sectors concerned. At the same time, there must be constructive concepts, and ideas must be contributed in order to perfect things through implementation at the production installations (the ideas contributed each month can be included in a document or communicated directly to the Organization Department of the Municipal CPV Committee).

2. Cadre projects: This forms an important basis for implementing the new themes concerning the decentralization of cadre work.

Cadre projects must be formulated and implemented based on the spirit of Directive No 45 and Notice 31 of the Secretariat of the CPV Central Committee and Resolution No 02 of the Standing Committee of the Municipal CPV Committee. At the same time, creative ideas must be proposed, and bold use must be made of the experiences, new work methods and strengths of each unit in order to improve the quality of the projects in implementing the new management mechanism. Attention must be given to the following:

All echelons, sectors, and primary level units must examine the projects already completed, examine and evaluate the cadres now on duty, prepare functions, and add new elements--the dynamic and creative cadres who dare to think and act and who have knowledge and experience are the talented people

who can adapt quickly to the new management mechanism.

At the production installations: It is essential to prepare a cadre project roster and formulate training plans for each cadre. The cadres must register for instruction, including both formal instruction and practical training. (The roster is to have 10 columns in accord with the model approved by the Organization Department of the Municipal CPV Committee.) This roster must be examined by the party committee collectives (or the standing committee of the party committee) and the director of the production installation. They are to sign their names and affix their seals. This then becomes the resolution of the collective leadership. It is the basic document for regularly supplementing and guiding decisions on subordinate cadres when required. In general, when making decisions, directors must discuss things with the CPV committee. Matters not in the plans must be discussed very carefully. If the director and the CPV committee do not agree on something, the CPV committee and the director must report the matter to higher echelons. If necessary, the director has the authority to make a provisional decision. He bears full responsibility for his decision before the CPV committee and higher echelons. Higher echelons must examine and resolve the matter as quickly as possible in order to bring the CPV committee and the director into agreement.

The cadre projects must be implemented actively and quickly. Things must not be done in an inflexible or mechanical manner. Everything must be done in accord with the projects already discussed. Through implementing the new management mechanism, the cadres must be examined and evaluated, reinforced, selected, and included in the projects. In particular, reorganizing commercial production and solidifying the apparatus based on the spirit of the resolutions of the CPV Central Committee and Municipal CPV Committee will lead to changes in cadre work. This will require that the projects be supplemented regularly.

During the 1st quarter of 1986, the cadre projects at the commercial production installations in the state-operated sector in the city must be supplemented and perfected. In the villages, the projects concerning key positions (secretary, chairman, cooperative director, and so on) must be inspected and perfected along with reorganizing the village-level apparatus.

Specific cadre standards must be supplemented and perfected quickly in accord with the changes in the management mechanism. A basis must be created for evaluating and assigning leading cadres and management cadres. The following are a few additional proposals on cadre standards that directors and party committee secretaries at commercial production installations must concentrate on clarifying.

The new decentralization themes have put forth very urgent requirements: As powers are expanded, the capabilities and quality of the cadres must increase, and they must bear greater responsibilities. Directors and basic party committee secretaries must meet the standards stipulated in Political Bureau Resolution 225 and Resolution 02 of the Standing Committee of the Municipal CPV Committee. At the same time, the following points must be clearly manifested:

Political quality: There must be absolute loyalty to the lines of the party and high unanimity with the resolutions of the CPV Central Committee and Municipal CPV Committee, particularly the policies and resolutions on eliminating the administrative management mechanism characterized by bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies and switching over to the new economic accounting and socialist business mechanism. These people must be resolved to implement these policies and resolutions in the units for which they are responsible.

It is necessary to have knowledge, understanding, and practical experience concerning economic management, state management, party building, mass mobilization, science and technology, and technical occupations in order to fulfill the assigned tasks. These people must have advanced school or college standards (or the equivalent) in one of the above fields of knowledge and a middle or high standard in Marxist-Leninist theory (if they don't, they must attend classes).

These people must have revolutionary qualities and morals. They must be diligent, thrifty, honest, and fair and impartial. They must set an example in carrying out the procedures, policies, and new management mechanism put forth by the party, state, Municipal CPV Committee, and Municipal People's Committee.

Together, these three aspects form the work capabilities of the cadres. If they are excellent in only one aspect, they will not be able to fulfill their leadership responsibilities.

Directors: They must be excellent in economic and enterprise management. They must show that they are capable of managing commercial production and making the right decisions. They must be resolute but not dogmatic or dictatorial. Directors must have a lofty party nature and be respectful. They must implement the decisions of the CPV committee and the constructive ideas of the mass organizations. They must understand the work of the CPV committee secretary.

CPV committee secretaries: They must be excellent in party building and in mobilizing the masses, and they must be politically dependable. They must understand the commercial production situation of the unit and the management decisions of the director in order to lead the party organization in the key task--commercial production based on the policies and resolutions of the CPV Central Committee and Municipal CPV Committee.

3. The work measures that have been stipulated must be implemented strictly. This includes Directive No 49 and Decision No 48 of the Secretariat of the CPV Central Committee on the work regulations of commercial production installation party committees, the system of reporting every 3 months, and the control system. Attention must be given to the following:

The cadre control system: In implementing Resolution No 42 of the Municipal CPV Committee, the echelons, sectors, and primary level units must check and adhere to the roster of cadres in spheres managed by higher echelons and in spheres where control has been decentralized to their echelon. Based on

establishing and adjusting the files on cadres under their control and rearranging the basic data in order to continue monitoring, supplementing, and adjusting things, during the 1st quarter of 1986, the echelons, sectors, and production installations must complete the rosters and files on cadres directly managed by the Municipal CPV Committee and submit them to the Organization Department of the Municipal CPV Committee. The Organization Department must make plans to turn the cadre files over to the units based on the new decentralized spheres.

The control system: Decentralization involves new problems and boldly entrusts power to the echelons. Thus, special attention must be given to control work. The primary purpose of control work is to hold fast to the changes that take place when actually implementing decentralization, praise the good units and individuals, provide guidance, eliminate the shortcomings, clarify things are are still not understood fully, immediately discover the weaknesses and mistakes, and deal resolutely with those who act in a conservative and arbitrary manner and who intentionally make mistakes. In control, self-control must be used to correct things.

The Organization Department of the Municipal CPV Committee, the Administrative Organization, and the sectors, committees, and bases must carry on control activities once every 3 months (excluding unplanned activities). Afterwards, notices must be sent clearly explaining the situation of the echelons, sectors and bases in order to gain experience.

The above are a number of general guidelines for implementing Resolution No 42 of the Standing Committee of the Municipal CPV Committee. It is suggested that the committees, sectors, and primary level units make plans to guide the implementation of this in the sectors and in the echelons and sectors concerned. If there is a problem, it must be discussed with the Organization Department of the Municipal CPV Committee in order to have the Standing Committee of the Municipal CPV Committee solve the problem.

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CSO: 4209/635

ECONOMIC PLANNING, TRADE, AND FINANCE

VIETNAM

DECISION ENCOURAGING PRIVATE PRODUCTION DISCUSSED

Hanoi DAI DOAN KET in Vietnamese 23 Apr 86 p 6

[Article by Nguyen Kien Phuoc: "Some Thoughts About Decision No 34 of Ho Chi Minh City: An Opening"]

[Text] To a new phenomenon, thing, or development, society--as well as each component, household, and even individual--often reacts with two conflicting thoughts and attitudes (not to mention the ordinary stand of opportunists and fence straddlers), giving rise to a sorting process that will guide future action.

Nearly a year ago, the resolution of the Eighth Plenum of the CPV Central Committee was resoundingly issued by the central government. A series of adjustments on prices, wages, and money took place during a short period of time, making the people worry and disrupting their trust in state managerial capabilities; and as a result, the implementation of these major policies hit a snag. Day in and day out, negative effects have appeared in every household and individual--a shortcoming which will take us a long time to redress. Against a complex economic backdrop, two great and very important events dominated economic activities in Ho Chi Minh City--first, temporary regulations expanding the production and business autonomy of basic installations were issued, and most recently, on 29 January, the people's committee made public Decision No 34/QDUB regulating production organization and management and some of its policies encouraging individual and family production of small industries and handicrafts and household subsidiary industries. On the one hand, the city has strived to do everything within its authority and responsibilities to return to basic installations (chiefly state-run and collective enterprises, that is, those from the socialist sector) their own assets--production and business autonomy. On the other, Decision No 34 has opened for individual and family production of small industries and handicrafts and household subsidiary industries a new way of doing business. This decision is now the most exciting event, to which laborers with skills, capital, and even machinery and equipment as well as workers, civil servants still working, and retired cadres are paying considerable attention.

After all, what is that problem, the one which many people in society are interested in? Is this an attempt to disentangle a difficult situation

confronting all of us, or a mere guessing game? On what basis and support do we rely to implement Decision No 34 (without being impeded), etc.? In fact, since the beginning of the year, living standards have still been fraught with difficulties with prices going up every week beyond control. Decision No 34 made waves because it affected all strata, families, and people.

First of all, we should affirm that it is a major policy of the Ho Chi Minh City CPV committee and people's committee, signaling new growth for individual and family production and household subsidiary industries. The decision pursues a clear-cut goal. First, it encourages intensified production of consumer goods, still in short supply; contributes high-quality commodities for export; rehabilitates traditional crafts and unique products; and fosters small-industry and handicraft diversification to meet different consumer tastes. Second, it calls for fully utilizing existing capabilities, capital, and idle manpower; finding employment for tens of thousands of laborers; stimulating traders to invest in production; turning out a large quantity of goods for society; and contributing to renovating common technical equipment. Third, we should not believe that the policy of the municipal party committee and people's committee of encouraging individual and family production of small industries and handicraft and household subsidiary industries to grow is aimed at bringing forth a "new class" and giving it "public legal status"; that policy contributes, instead, to rearranging production within a specific sector--small industries and handicrafts--and making the most of the strength and capabilities of all economic elements to serve the greatest current goal--commodity production in line with socialist economic laws.

The three goals of Decision No 34, as mentioned above, are utterly correct. They fit in with tangible municipal conditions, the specific period of Vietnam's socialist revolution--still in the first stage of the transition--and most important, party and state policies designed to push productive forces to develop and transform production relationships between economic elements to stimulate growth. Nevertheless, between a decision and its implementation there always exist a wide gap and a set of problems which must be continually solved.

Before making a financial and technical investment in production according to Decision No 34, industrialists, businessmen, and even cadres and civil servants face a double concern.

First, they do not know how long that policy will last to permit laborers and technically skilled people to invest in and develop production with confidence. This is a legitimate misgiving. For a long time, in dealing with economic elements, we have paid attention to the state sector, then to collectives, still allowing the individual economy to exist but leaving it in the lurch. Priorities have been set along the same lines, and that unequal treatment has plunged individual producers into a psychology of fear, pessimism, and stubborn resistance, despite the fact that they have skills, capital, and manpower. In addition, the surviving individual element was unremittingly subject to threats of "transformation"--a sure

road to ruin. This has given rise to negative manifestations. Considering themselves derelict "stepchildren," they scrambled to lead a lifestyle beyond the law. They secretly made low-quality and counterfeit goods (from supplies acquired from private sources or stolen from state storehouses in collusion with some cadres and civil servants) and secretly sold them in open-air markets, disturbing the marketplace and causing prices to shoot up beyond control. This laissez-faire situation has touched off opposition and sabotage--just a step farther--or the pessimistic tendency to wait for better opportunities, resulting in the disappearance of traditional and unique crafts, which should have been preserved and developed. The state has not produced enough goods; worse yet, it has restricted the production of other sectors, thus exacerbating already strained relationships between supply and demand. More important, it has forced a group of people to turn their backs on state policies--an economic shift with political overtones.

It is extremely gratifying to see that there has been recently an inclination gradually to recognize and address that unequal treatment. And it is crucial to know that all kinds of labor generate glory and equality, provided that one is not too seduced by profit to disregard the laws and exploit others' labor and provided that one is eager to multiply material wealth for society to meet the people's and the nation's needs. In that context, it makes sense to ask questions about the length of the transition to socialism. Our thought, however, is that so far nobody has ever attempted to measure that period in years. The march toward socialism is regulated by objective laws, but completion of its various stages and their attending goals depends on ourselves. In some socialist countries, which have completed the transitional period and have already advanced to the next, individual production still exists, and the family economy still invites interest and is particularly encouraged by the state.

Although we are not dogmatic, we will inevitably make regrettable mistakes if we wink at experiences of friendly and brotherly countries on this question. Is this necessary to predict a 10-year or 20-year length right now? To assess the socialist nature of a socioeconomic form, one must examine not only the ownership of production materials--a very basic thing--but also the makeup of its productive forces--a factor that will decide whether development is suitable or not. What our nation and people need at present is to speed up production and turn out more and more diverse and abundant material wealth. In brief, the shift from self-sufficiency to socialist-type commodity production is an arduous and rather protracted process.

In any event, Decision No 34 has received the support of many people who see in it a way out of the current slowdown and stagnancy. Nguyen Van Manh, an artisan in Precinct 4, specializing in making decorative lamps; Mr Nguyen Ba Nghe, a former Saigon industrialist; and Vuong Nhieu, who makes bicycle spokes--all of them have expressed their views on the matter. To be true, before Decision No 34 was issued, quite a few families in the city already turned out moderately high-quality products in their own right. For instance, Le Cong Thanh in Ward 13, Precinct 1, used laborers in his own family (six people, including husband, wife, and their four children)

to make sandals and handbags, now sought-after items in neighboring friendly countries and also in our rural areas.

The second concern is: "What commodities is the individual, family, and household subsidiary-industry sector authorized to produce?"

We must admit that, at present, our production is not yet able to meet consumer needs, either quantitatively or qualitatively. Relationships between supply and demand still suffer a great imbalance. That is why the state has particularly encouraged consumer and export production. Of course, individual and family enterprises and household subsidiary industries are not allowed to duplicate what the state sector has produced. But with appropriate modern equipment and skills they can work perfectly as contract satellites for state enterprises or collectives.

The state controls 17 branches of the national economy--the latter's cornerstone. However, not all commodities are made and distributed by the state. For instance, the family and household subsidiary-industry sector can invest capital and techniques in silk weaving--our people's traditional and unique craft. In bicycle production, they can manufacture fenders, chain guards, luggage racks, frames, brake wires, saddle seat props, stands, and rearview mirrors.

In glass production, if they meet antipollution requirements and have adequate skills, they can make glassware from bottle shards. They can make high-class artistic furniture, children's toys, educational furnishings, physical education and sport equipment, and musical instruments; they can also produce bags for medical and food packaging, plastic items, ready-to-wear clothing for domestic use and export, ordinary and fragrant soap, powdered detergent, nails, knives, scissors, bolts, hinges, carpenter's rules, door bolts, building locks, door knobs, water faucets, bathroom fixtures, etc. They can also refine essential oils. In sum, to take part in production they mostly need capital, moderately modern equipment, skills, and a permit to make and deal in goods not under a state monopoly. It must be said that consumer needs are large but still unsatisfied.

In the days to come, concerned sectors will issue detailed and thoughtful guidelines on what individual, family, and household subsidiary-industry producers can and cannot produce. On the whole, Decision No 34 embodies the advantageous aspects of a policy essentially designed to remove obstacles, at least for the time being.

Life is always the unity of two conflicting facets. Decision No 34 has received not only favorable reactions but also--according to reports--unfavorable input, although it is a suitable document. But this is real life. Many perplexing questions were raised when that decision was disseminated by the mass media.

The first disapproving current centered on viewpoints and policies. Is it true that Decision No 34 was issued to create conditions for the individual economy to come around and flourish? And if this were true, the achievements

of other economic elements in socialist transformation would have been cast to the winds.

First of all, we would like to recall some classic notions, for instance, the laws on compatibility between production relationships and the nature and extent of development of productive forces. Production relationships cannot be reviewed in a vacuum. They are a prime mover and lever designed to speed up the growth of productive forces. They generate progress because they contribute to social material affluence, and under no circumstances do they set up a barracks-type economy, which the Beijing authorities once did when they sent the Chinese into people's communes.

Moreover, production relationships contain three subrelationships, linking productive means with management and distribution. Attempts to attach absolute attention to any of these subrelationships inevitably lead to a succession of negative consequences.

Facts have shown that in setting up new production relationships--to begin with the ownership of production materials--one must apply transitional forms and suitable measures with great flexibility. The gist of the problem is that, in launching a revolution in production relationships, one must stimulate productive forces and lay no excessive emphasis on ownership.

In the science and art of management, it is essential to exploit and foster the diverse strengths of economic elements, steering them toward implementing basic socialist economic laws. Decision No 34 of Ho Chi Minh City is one of a series of policies aimed at removing difficulties and exploiting the still great potential of nonsocialist small-industry and handicraft production in the city. Why don't we do that, prompting commerce to absorb capital, machinery to corrode, visibly and invisibly, and technical skills to disappear? At a time when we are still unable to implement perfectly the laws on balanced and planned growth and successfully manage the whole economic apparatus, why do we irrationally keep biting off more than we can chew?

Marx once said that, out of necessity, the economy finds a way out by itself. Decision No 34 offers wholehearted and meticulous guidance to enable that necessary economic search not to err and run counter to socialist interests. It defines very clearly the essential positions and functions of various economic forms in the transitional period to socialism and is an effective contribution to achieving planning, organization, and rearrangement in small industries and handicrafts and to accelerating growth in keeping with socialism.

Individual producers may nurture utterly diverse thoughts. We welcome those who sincerely want to use their labor, capital, and skills to serve society. But certainly some have gone against the grain. These people are seriously mistaken if they think it is high time for them to take advantage of the situation to expand their businesses in a nonsocialist way while continuing to coexist with socialism. Furthermore, they must understand that sectors and professions, which they are permitted to embrace, cannot and will not

dominate the foundations of the nation's economy--the material core which the state and the socialist economy (state enterprises and collectives) must firmly grasp with increasing force. Those who believe that individual business is synonymous with laissez-aller simply indulge in reverie. And those who think that this form of production will turn them overnight into a new class are out of touch with reality, even if they hire 10 workers.

We, journalists in Ho Chi Minh City, have received information that, to implement Decision No 34, considered by quite a few as an opportunity for individualism to expand, the municipal people's committee will soon issue new policies and procedures to collectivize small industries and handicrafts with a view to consolidating and strengthening that form of socialist economy.

What we must promptly do now is not to let the excitement and widespread support of many popular strata to cool off. And we should issue additional tangible guidelines and policies to redress erroneous thoughts and make Decision No 34 an integral part of daily life. It is not superfluous to predict that implementation of that decision will meet numerous difficulties over conditions and material bases, in addition to ideological hurdles. To understand that legal document better, we should clearly define the criteria by which small industries and handicraft households are classified; the production goals for each category of households; the way in which they should be organized and managed (who, what echelons, and what organizations will manage them); and especially the procedures and policies on encouraging production growth and on business registration, product consumption, prices, taxes, supply of provisions, etc.

To perceive Decision No 34 of Ho Chi Minh City as a major policy aimed at removing obstacles and fostering production growth is no easy or simple task. Daily life will provide a genuine answer.

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AGRICULTURE

VIETNAM

1986 WINTER CROP YIELDS TOP 1985 WINTER CROP YIELDS IN NORTH

Hanoi QUAN DOI NHAN DAN in Vietnamese 30 May 86 pp 1,4

[Article: "Northern Vietnam's Winter Grain Yield Increases 143,830 Tons Over Previous Crop"]

[Text] VNA--The recent winter crop in northern localities was fairly successful. Yields for virtually all crops increased compared with the previous crop: potatoes, 89.5 quintals per hectare, an increase of 9.66 quintals; sweet potatoes, 64.3 quintals per hectare, an increase of 2.79 quintals over the 1985 winter crop. The volume of production for grain converted into paddy reached 359,598 tons, an increase of 143,830 tons compared with the previous crop.

Entering the winter season, cooperatives encountered many difficulties, especially big rains at the beginning of the season, flooding at the end of the season, and a shortage of seeds for corn, potatoes and sweet potatoes. Because of this, almost all the cooperatives enlarged the area under corn on wetlands or grew a gourd-like corn; grew potatoes by splitting sprouts. Regarding potatoes, had they been grown by using tubers there would only have been enough for 20,000 hectares.

Thanks to implementing the procedure of cutting sprouts, cooperatives grew 32,500 hectares of potatoes, surpassing the plan by 2,500 hectares. Hanoi alone grew 4,179 hectares of potatoes, an increase of 1,262 hectares compared to the previous crop, and had yields of 97.8 quintals per hectare, an increase of 30.8 quintals. Generally, localities in the north grew 235,270 hectares of vegetables, subsidiary food crops, and industrial crops of various types, an increase of 56,750 hectares compared with the previous crop. This includes 101,900 hectares of sweet potatoes and 29,404 hectares of corn.

Ha Bac Province overcame difficulties with the flooded tenth-month crop, arranged for drainage pumps, planted corn and potatoes on wetlands and, as a result, grew 28,200 hectares of winter crops, an increase of 5,000 hectares over the previous crop. Thanks to carrying out intensive cultivation, the yields of many of the province's winter crops were higher than the previous crop: sweet potatoes increased 37 percent; corn increased 40

percent; potatoes increased 29.7 percent. The province's volume of production for grain converted into paddy reached 55,000 tons, 1.5 times last year's winter crop. The districts of Tan Yen, Gia Luong, Yen Phong, Tien Son and Que Vo grew potatoes from seed which had yields of between 100 and 112 quintals per hectare.

Ha Son Binh, despite many flooded areas, planted 12,890 hectares of winter crops, doubling last year's area.

For this winter crop, localities enlarged the area under corn, sweet potatoes, potatoes, etc., with new varieties, attaining high yields. Dan Phuong District (Hanoi) planted the new TSB2 and MSB49 Song Lam varieties of corn, and carried out uniform intensive cultivation. As a result, yields reached 40 quintals a hectare on an area of 362 hectares. Ha Bac planted 3,090 hectares of winter corn, 3.6 times that of the previous crop, using the VMI variety and had a 40 percent increase in yields compared with the previous crop.

Many localities have given attention to investing materials and fertilizer in the intensive cultivation of the winter crop. Ha Son Binh invested from 200 to 300 kilograms of nitrate fertilizer for each hectare, grew 3,622 hectares of potatoes, and had yields of 124 quintals per hectare, an increase of 29 quintals over the 1985 winter crop and leading in potato yields in the north. Hanoi grew new variety corn, planted it at the right density and exactly on schedule, and applied a large amount of fertilizer. As a result, yields reached 22.5 quintals per hectare, an increase of 2.3 quintals per hectare which led the corn yields in the northern provinces. Thanh Hoa built high-production corn areas in the districts of Cam Thuy, Thieu Yen, Vinh Loc, Thach Thanh, Nga Son, and Hoang Hoa with nearly 3,000 hectares, accounting for almost three fifths of the entire province's corn area. Corn yields for the entire province were 35 quintals per hectare, an increase of 2.5 quintals compared with the 1985 winter crop.

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